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ABSTRACT

As the third volume in a five volume series of position papers on American Indian education, this publication presents eleven position papers on special programs. Papers are titled as follows: (1) "A Vision: The Warrior-Scholar-Community Activist, The End Product of Indian Studies"; (2) "The Relation of Indian Studies to the University Structure"; (3) "The Importance of Indian Studies to Interracial Understanding"; (4) "Vocational and Technical Education Training Model for Indian Groups"; (5) "An Indian View of Vocational-Technical Education"; (6) "The Need for Consumer Education Among Indians"; (7) and (8) "Training Needs of Indian Parent Advisory Committees" (two different articles on the same topic); (9) "Health Education"; (10) and (11) "A Variation Plan for Indian Communities". A major theme running throughout these papers is that of Indian control of Indian destiny as relative to all aspects of Indian education. Major consideration is also given to the importance of the relationship between economic development and educational development in the various Indian communities (urban, rural, reservation, etc.) (JC)

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Indian Education Confronts The Seventies

Five Volumes

Volume III

Special Program Considerations

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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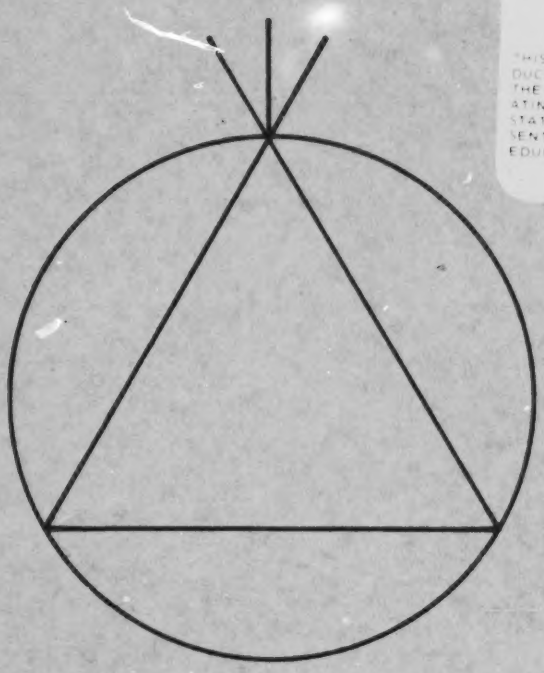

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This five volume series of Position Papers on Indian Education has been printed by the American Indian Resource Associates in conjunction with the Navajo Community College of Tsaile, Arizona. The papers were prepared under a contract between the Office of Education and the Navajo Community College, OE- 0-73-7094, which was in turn subcontracted by the Navajo Community College to the American Indian Resource Associates, Oglala, South Dakota, Mr. Gerald One Feather, President.

The respective papers have been edited for publication by Vine Deloria, Jr., Golden, Colorado who supervised the preparation of the papers and the format of the five volumes. Copies of the longer and unedited original papers are available through the Indian Education Office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Education, the Navajo Community College, or the American Indian Resource Associates and no official endorsement by any of the parties should be inferred. The papers are presented in an effort to open discussions of the future of Indian education by presenting some fundamental and provocative papers on selected topics of importance in the field of Indian education.

We would like to express our appreciation to Mr. John Tippeconic of the Navajo Community College and Mr. Larry LaMoure of the Office of Education for their assistance in developing these volumes.

Vine Deloria, Jr.
Golden, Colorado

Indian Education Confronts The Seventies

Volume III

Special Program Considerations

Edited by Vine Deloria, Jr.

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INTRODUCTION

by

Vine Deloria, Jr.

Theoretical considerations in Indian education are not nearly as pressing on the minds of Indians as are the actual problems involved with development and operations of programs. For generations Indian education remained a stepchild of social engineers who saw cultural differences as indications of some innate inferiority of Indians. In recent years this attitude has been shattered by a more sophisticated social milieu and by the demands of the Indian community for realistic programs and policies. Thus we have come to the time when programs are designed around their Indian content rather than around some nebulous idea of motivating changes in the Indian psyche.

As the implications of this new attitude in education become clearer, we must face the peculiar types of programs that have been developed to express the new concerns. Among them are the various Indian Studies programs. They originiated out of the turbulent

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sixties and the spate of "power movements" and ethnic identity quest of that time. One cannot fault Indians for taking advantage of the demand of other minorities for relevant studies by pushing hard for Indian Studies. The question that remains unresolved concerns the stability, goal, and relevance of some of the programs that have been developed. In this volume we present three papers that attempt to map out the scope of the Indian Studies area. Ms. Henrietta Whiteman, a noted authority in the Indian Studies field, projects the goals and meaning of Indian Studies. What kind of person should it produce? What community should the program relate to? What content should it have? Ms. Whiteman produces a comprehensive vision of the Indian Studies field - a warrior-scholar-community activist, she maintains, is the proper goal to pursue.

Emory Sequequaptewa of the University of Arizona discusses a crucial problem for Indian Studies. How does a program entrench itself in the academic community so that it receives the status it deserves while yet becoming not an exotic novelty but part of the on-going program. The problem at the University of Arizona, of which he is an integral part, is an example of what can and perhaps should be done everywhere. Finally David Swensen, a non-Indian who has graduated with a degree in Ethnic Studies, discusses the relevance of Indian Studies to the daily attitudes and worldview of the non-Indian. His point is important when one recognizes that more non-Indians than Indians are enrolled in Indian Studies courses in a great many universities. If we are to have Indian Studies as a discipline as Ms. Whiteman suggests, and as an integral part of a university program, as Mr. Sequequaptewa suggests, we must see the program as

Mr. Swensen suggests also, as a part of the lives of non-Indians as well as Indians.

Everyone must rethink vocational education and training also according to both Grant Venn and Calvin Dupree. The pretense of old that technical skills can be taught apart from the immediate community life in which a person participates must be swept aside and vocational education must be designed to provide a person with the skills and understanding to change as techniques and methods change. Unless there is an acknowledgment that community life and its social realities are as important if not more important than income producing skills we shall not be able to solve the pressing problems of employment and development of employable skills.

Both consumer education and health education are gaining in importance today. No longer can we consider the content of education as something divorced from life. Instead we must begin to develop the life-areas, consumerism and health among others, as an integral part of the educational experience. As we work in these fields, however, an understanding of the culture and values as well as the immediate situation of Indians is imperative. The essays by Philip Deloria and Eunice Larrabee foreshadow what may be a coming trend in the traditional educational programs. Perhaps we should drop some of the more exotic subjects such as ancient history, foreign languages, and the physical sciences and instead simply teach health education, consumer education, insurance, civil and criminal law and individual rights, and other topics which require our attention in our daily lives.

Betty Gress and Lorraine Misiaszek both outline for us some of

the pitfalls in current concepts of Parent Advisory Council training programs. The problem is gigantic and is doubly serious because of the tradition of deliberately preventing Indian parents from having a voice in their children's education. When this tradition is coupled with a crash-program mentality of involving Indian parents in educational decisions the need for comprehensive parent advisory councils to be trained in the intricacies of educational law and community involvement stands out as a pressing and crucial need.

Finally we are left with the responsibility of presenting an integrated picture of educational programs reaching all levels of the community. How can we develop a spectrum of programs that will provide alternatives of both training and education for Indian communities that represent all aspects of the tribal traditions and the modern movements? Murray Wax and William Roberts draw some pictures of the integrated community educational programs that must be considered if we are to cover all the areas and groups in the Indian community. Probably the most important movement in the Indian world today is the gradual and apparently inevitable coalescence of social and economic functions and in this movement the variation plans developed by Wax and Roberts deserve every consideration.

There are, of course, a great many other areas that need to be examined and we do not pretend to do more than outline as rigorously as possible the variety of programs that demand specific and immediate attention. Of extreme importance is the manner in which the variety of programs now available to Indians is dovetailing into a common concern for community expression of itself. Continual refinement of community and tribal goals in conjunction with the increasingly

sophisticated information and development systems available to Indians will eventually result in the disappearance of some pressing problems and the reemergence of other newer problems as yet unarticulated.

Our concern, as we can determine from the papers in this volume, should be to solve some of the immediate problems and develop in their solution the creation of new forms of social relationships. If, for example, a program for informing parents of their rights and responsibilities can be expanded to enable a great many community people to get a better understanding of the nature and scope of educational laws, could this understanding then supercede the very program that created it and lead to the identification of other problems that currently exist but which have not yet been identified with precision? Would not the community then have additional talents to describe and solve the new problem?

Unless we can be content with yesterday's problems we must try to move beyond the parameters already described and find new ways of looking at our situation with corresponding new methods of describing and solving problems. Over a period of time we may discover that the original objectives and problems have evolved to give us a new perspective. The burning issue of today, Indian controlled schools, was not an issue of the 1960's. During the last decade the great resources that were invested in higher education created a class of Indian professionals with college credentials who saw Indian control as the key to development of their communities. As Indians assume more control over the programs that are made available to them, additional factors will change and the Indian control of today may well resolve itself into a new challenge tomorrow.

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In the selections presented in this book, therefore, we have tentative working ideas from which we can begin to redefine the work of Indian education. Rather than consider these papers as final statements they should be regarded as part of the ongoing process of education and where they have good points we must expand and develop them leaving behind what has become common knowledge and seeking that which is uncommon and constructive over the long time period that constitutes the life of a community.

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A VISON:
THE WARRIOR-SCHOLAR-COMMUNITY ACTIVIST,
THE END PRODUCT OF INDIAN STUDIES

by

Henrietta V. Whiteman

University of Montana

Missoula, Montana

Aboriginal America in the tribal minds of Native Americans provides relief from neoteric America. The Native American experience in American history has been antithetical: it has been one of freedom and oppression; power and impotence; progression and regression; wealth and poverty; and beauty and ugliness. The abrupt substitution of one way of life for another accompanied by a modification of the environment laid the foundation for contemporary Native American thought.

Contemporary Native American thought has many shades of meaning more of which is covert than overt. The meaning of contemporary existence varies with the individual, tribe, group, geographic location and circumstance. This diversity, however, is not a negative factor, but a positive situation, for it is evidence of the uniqueness of the Native American, whether it be as an individual, as a tribal member, or as a member of a group. Because of this uniqueness it is fallacious to generalize about the Native American.

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Generalizations, unfortunately, have permeated the societal mind of American society. Generalizations concerning the American Indian abound in literature, in textbooks, and on the street corners of this nation. These misconceptions, myths, and stereotypes constitute an aspect of the daily existence of the Native American. The public image of the Native American varies with the tribal group involved and with the mentality of the culturally unenlightened individual pronouncing judgment. The Native American even has a physical stereotype: the magnificant figure astride a horse, attired in buckskin, beads and feathers with the profile of the chief appearing on the Indian head nickel. Beneath the position and romantic conceptions of the Indian are the damaging negative stereotypes of "savage, heathen, lazy, backward, dirty, drunken, apple, and militant Indian."

Superimposed upon stereotypes are misconceptions pedantically espousing that "the native peoples of this country had no culture and neither do they have one today. Besides, why do they continually attempt to retain their ways and resist assimilation? It is inevitable. After all, they cannot go back to the blanket."

This misconception that led to the belief that the Native American had little of value in his oral tradition. Apparently a society that has emphasized written, but oftentimes cold and empty words as the repository of knowledge the existence of an oral tradition of native peoples extending backwards in time for some 40,000 years, perhaps even 100,000 years, has no validity. Because people have failed to understand the meaning of an oral tradition Indian academicians have been led to believe that the Native American has no history. They would have it that the history of this continent

began in the year 1492. A cursory review of the popular history books would show that people of this continent prior to Anglo-European contact was virgin territory, lush with vegetation, a hunter's paradise complete with game of every kind. But what of the peoples of this paradise? Critiques of history textbooks, specifically concerned with this point have shown that the Native American treatment is characterized by omissions, inaccuracies, stereotypes, and negativism.

The word "Indian" itself is a misnomer. Yet because history is written from the point of view of Westerners the aboriginal tribes of peoples have been forced to accept this outmoded label and many continually refer to themselves as American Indians. As a reaction to this biased approach the more appropriate term of Native American is being expressed more frequently in contemporary America. While in our day we are transforming "American Indians" into "Native Americans" most importantly the people are <u>first</u> Navajo, Cree, Sioux, Cherokee, Blackfeet, Crow, Ojibway, Hopi, Seneca, Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho or any of the other remaining tribal groups native to this continent.

The uniqueness of each tribe, aboriginal and neoteric, must be totally incorporated into the infant but lusty academic discipline of formal, higher education generally labeled Indian Studies, American Indian Studies, North American Indian Studies, or Native American Studies. The responsibility involved in the development of such programs is not simply to be endowed with human ingenuity and to have the determination to cultivate Indian patience which is today running thin after five hundred years of tragic experience. Administrators, faculty, staff, students, and community members

must assume the posture of Indian counterparts of job, inquiring planning, suffering, and being tested, but always looking to and working for a better tomorrow. While institutions are being developed they must not be allowed to sever our native traditions from their living roots and blind us to the need for studies consistent with our cultural heritage as the peoples belonging to Mother Earth on this Turtle Continent.[1] And the development of strong and viable Indian Studies programs, while accompanied by perserverance, must be characterized by action and augmented by financial assistance equal in import to that of the Marshall Plan.[2]

Those of us involved in Native American Studies recognize the fact that our growth and development in the academic arena is hampered by the problematic lack of funds referred to by Lame Deer as "Green Frog Skins."[3] Although, one could catalog problem areas ranging in importance from token and superficial programs to overt discrimination, my optimism and determination concerning, "Indian Self-Determination" as a result of Indian Studies programs is in the forefront of my thoughts regarding priorities for programs. I only allude finally to my tradition as a human being of this Turtle Island, one of those possessed with Indian vision, the kind of vision that generates respect for my brother's vision and his respect for mine.[4]

Indian Studies programs must have well defined goals with specific objectives catalogued therein. As a beginning it must visualize an ideal Native American as end product, the truly educated American Indian as he graduates from an institution of higher education. I visualize a total individual, a complete personality, who can assume a role any place in society. The end product I

visualize being developed in Indian Studies Programs is one that I refer to as a warrior-scholar-community activist.[5]

In alluding to the end product of Native American Studies, my ideal Native American of tomorrow must possess the primary requisite of a warrior. For too long in the history of this new United States of America the motivating principle has been the destruction and conquest which has been justified by the doctrine of Manifest Destiny. Our friends from across the great water have not yet learned that one need not destroy, but instead build upon centuries old and time tested traditions.

I submit that in our educational process of today we can build upon those traditions. However, this tradition is not sexist, a requirement only for the male, but it is for the female as well. Based upon our Native American tradition, it is, indeed, honorable to attain warrior status. The warrior I envision is an individual equipped with special, technical skills to assume a leadership role in the fight for American Indian survival in a non-Indian dominated world. He shall have to maintain constant vigil against the introduction of new policies whose idealogy ultimately supports Manifest Destiny which may result in further genocide, relocation, assimilation, and termination. Indian Studies, besides being education, must have a further qualification, it must mold those warriors necessary to ensure our survival as a people.

Complementing the warrior role is that of the Native American scholar. He must be a scholar in every sense of the word; he must be learned, knowledgeable, and possessing a critical intellect. His higher education must consist of an academically sound background in studies consistent with his traditional origin as an

individual, a native of this Turtle Continent. His education must be grounded in one of the older--but formal--academic disciplines certifying him as a professional. Professional certification could be in law, education, business administration, public administration, economics, social work, counseling and guidance, medicine, or any of the other professional areas that we as Native Americans must eventually master.

We must prepare professionally certified Native Americans if for no other reason than to begin staffing agencies and organizations that directly affect our daily existence with qualified American Indians. This concept obviously places a double burden on our American Indian student. While anthropologists contend that Indians live in two worlds, they remain oblivious to the reality of those worlds which reflect a clash within the individual of differing cultures reflecting differing values, traditions, and social patterns. Consequently Native American Studies programs must prepare students not simply for peripheral existence in two worlds, but for a satisfying life as a bicultural citizen in a pluralistic society.

The warrior and scholar must also be a community activist. In using the word activist, I use it in opostion to the word passivity. Perhaps, it has been this passive attitude that has heretofore made us into cultural vagabonds rapidly traversing a direct course to cultural collision. Fortunately, this collision has resulted in a revitalization of the Indian spirit, culture, dignity, and created for many people the opportunity to design and implement effective American Indian programs, both educational and otherwise. Since contemporary Indian activity has resulted in

Anglo-American cultural shock, it is seen as a complete departure from the apathetic stereotype that formerly characterized our daily existence. The community activist I visualize is not the destructive "militant" who has taught contemporary American society paranoia. He could be destructive, in a constructive sense if he were to obliterate meaningless programs and replace them with effective programs. I envision this individual as one posessing energy and the ability to make decisions resulting in positive change in an Indian community or an Indian organization. But again the criteria for such action must be the accomplishment of positive change, positive change in the context that it results in contemporary and future American Indian and American societal betterment.

In the Native American Studies programs the American Indian student must be provided with the opportunity to learn of his culture,[6] study his tribal history, and retrospectively view the American Indian experience since 1492, and the result will hopefully be that from his education he will formulate alternative solutions to meet the needs and concerns of the Native American societies that exist within the mainstream of American society. His education can and must be enriched through Indian Studies Programs, and he can emerge from the dominant educational system of higher institutions a warrior-scholar-community activist and a bicultural citizen.

Indian Studies Programs must be designed to develop the total personality of its student. The course offerings must have specific objectives which, taken together, help the student toward attaining this goal. The undergraduate Indian Studies curriculum therefore becomes a complex undertaking because it must be based upon our

heterogeneity since Native American Studies is in one sense but a reflection of the Native American experience itself.

"In our quest for relevant and meaningful education, then it is mandatory that Native American Studies reflect in its curriculum a microcosm of the total experience of the native peoples of this continent. There is and must continue to be the recognition of tribal diversity concomitant with the recognition of unique life styles, distinct languages, differing world views, and unique experiences and histories. This alone can complicate the task of developing a comprehensive yet specialized curriculum for Native American Studies."[7]

True curriculum development is a complex process, but it is also an exercise in Indian Self-Determination.

In persuing Indian Studies brochures, I was impressed with the Introduction to Native American Studies course offered by the University of California at Davis. It is an orientation course designed for Indian students which addresses itself to the unique needs and concerns of contemporary Native Americans as individuals, as students, and as members of tribes. It presents in general survey other more comprehensive Native American Studies course offerings dealing with historical evolution and experiences, education, ethnics, the land situation, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Public Health Service.[8] Orientation courses such as this should be a part of every Indian Studies Program.

Another course with which my students have expressed satisfaction is Indian Culture as Expressed through Language.

> This course will be an introduction to the language of the American Indian peoples. The course will give the students an understanding, through the language, of the

history; traditions; and modern life of Indian peoples.[9] Fall quarter 1973, study has been on the Cheyenne, primarily because the lone faculty member is Cheyenne, and possesses knowledge of the language. This course was initiated as an experiment and appears successful in that students are not only learning a Native American language, but they are gaining insights about a specific tribe. They feel they can adapt their knowledge to an understanding of other tribes, even though they recognize the uniqueness of each. The intensive study of one tribe provides the students with an increased understanding of contemporary Indian thought and actions.

A language course, involves the administrative problem of employment of non-credentialed experts who should be people teaching these courses. College and university administrators unfortunately frown upon employment of individuals who do not possess recognized "academic credentials". Questions such as, "But, where does one obtain a baccalaureate degree or a terminal degree in a Native American language?" remain unanswered, and academic snobbery prevails over sound reasoning. In the meantime, our American Indian languages continue to die a slow death.

There should be at least one course addressing itself to the history of the American Indian. The brochure of American Indian Studies at the University of Washington, Seattle offers approximately twenty general and interdisciplinary courses among which are three entitled American Indians: An Historical Survey; The Urban Indian in the Northwest: A Contemporary Survey; and Northwest Indian Culture/History Research.[10] While I see the need for general survey courses I also see the need for regionalizing as exemplified by this Program's offerings. There is a need for both kinds of courses

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in Indian Studies.

Indian Studies curriculum must also include studies "...of the relationship between the American Indian and the State and Federal Governments."[11] The College of Ethnic Studies, Western Washington State College has such a course entitled History of White-Indian Relations. The course description is as follows:

> The historical development of Indian and non-Indian relations as seen from an Indian viewpoint. The changing attitudes of Indians toward non-Indians and of non-Indians toward Indians. The differing value systems and world view of various groups and the effect on group relationships.[12]

This kind of course is essential to both Indian and non-Indian students alike; for unless Wovoka's prophecy[13] is ever fulfilled, there would be no reason to concern ourselves with changing attitudes among culturally different peoples.

California State University at Hayward offers a course in Oral traditions providing its students with the opportunity to study this particular area. The course is entitled Native American Literature and Oral Traditions, and is described as--

> A study of American Indian poetry, narrative, oratory, myths, and folklore, and their relationship to Indian life, both past and present. An examination of the epic origin tales, ritual drama, and the writing of contemporary Indian authors.[14]

A course on American Indian oral tradition and written literature is a must in an Indian Studies curriculum.

There exists, in addition, the need for role models in every profession. It is a fact that "Indian children in the 12th grade have the poorest self-concept of all minority groups tested."[15] Consequently, there is a need for courses which build positive self-images, along with the transmission and acquisition of knowledge,

as well as preparing the Indian students to enter professional areas they so desire.

California State University at San Francisco through Native American Studies offers such a course; it is Native American Ethno-Science, described as follows:

> This course will be an investigation of Native American Ethno-Science as well as an analysis of its usage in traditional native American life and its utility in the contemporary Indian community. It will deal basically with how the American Indians used various herbs and plants for medicinal and healing purposes in pre-columbian times and which of those practices are still carried on today.[16]

A course such as this might well encourage an Indian student into a health science profession. Courses such as this are a necessity for too little emphasis is placed on the Native American's knowledge of medicinal herbs and in the healing power of the medicine man.

Native American societies had a role for every member of the tribe and the woman had a vital role in tribal society. The negative sterotyping on Indian societies has resulted in the image of the inferiority of the Indian woman in the western mind.

There has long been a need to correct this misapprehension. Dartmouth College during the Winter Quarter 1974 will offer a course entitled Women in Native American Society:

> This seminar will consider the roles available to women in various traditional Native American societies, from the patrilineal cultures of the Plains to the matrilineal organizations of some Southwest tribes. Covert and overt uses of authority will be discussed, as will be complimentary (sic) economic nature of much subsistence activity. The societal effects of Native-European contact upon women will be explored.[17]

Perhaps courses such as this will ease the obsession of others to "liberate" Indian women, and conversely we Indian women shall no

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longer have to labor under such stereotypes as "Super Squaws."

Indian Studies must concern itself with the cultural enlightenment of those who for too long have failed to recognize our rich cultural heritage. In this regard, I was impressed with two of the numerous course offerings of Indian Studies at Haskell Indian Junior College. They are:

> American Indian Music. . .a beginning course in the song of the American Indian. The course will include songs from all regions of the United States including Alaska. The course is intended for students who have little background in American Indian songs, but may be taken by students with considerable background and expertise. Considerable emphasis will be placed on cultural and ceremonial emphasis of the songs of the American Indian. (and)
>
> American Indian Dance--A beginning class in surveying and learning the dances of the American Indian. The course will include dances unique to the various geographical points of the United States including Alaska. The students with little or no previous background in Indian dance can take this course, as well as students with considerable experience in Indian Dance.[18]

Although these courses are presently offered only at Haskel, I can visualize such courses being taught in non-Indian colleges and universities. The problem of having "academically qualified" instructors for such courses would be the same as that for language instructors.

Other unique courses in Indian Studies are being offered at the University of California, Berkeley:

> Native American Arts and Contemporary Development. . .The course deals with painting, sculpture, and crafts--traditional and contemporary--with emphasis on the historical aspect of Indian arts and its development up to the present day. The Indian artist-craftsman point of view and approach will be emphasized:
>
> The Native American and Penal Institutions. . .An analysis of organized and bureaucratized authority, the penal institutions, and law enforcement on the Federal, State, and local level; and a study of rehabilitative programs, halfway

houses, culturally oriented prison groups, and other programs. The underlying factors involved in Indian criminality will be examined; (and)

Native American Community Development. . .Investigation and analysis of the relationship between American Indians and non-Indians in contemporary society with special emphasis on existing programs, problems originating from these programs and possible solutions.[19]

Courses such as these would appear to be illustrative of the type of curriculum necessary to meet the goal of Indian Studies.

In proposing my curriculum, and underlying theme has been that of developing positive self-images on the part of the American Indian student, the native of this Turtle Island. In this regard, it is a responsibility of any Indian Studies Program to learn of and study the leaders of our tribal societies, instead of only hearing from the non-Indian perspective about George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and the endless catalog of "founding fathers." Thus, I propose a course entitled Peoples Native to this Turtle Continent. My description of the course would be--

A study and analysis of tribal leaders such as Geronimo, Ouanah Parker, Captain Jack, Chief Joseph, Plenty Coups, Black Kettle, Little Raven, Crazy Horse, Black Hawk, Sitting Bull, and so forth, from the perspective of their struggle for survival. In addition study will include contemporary and outstanding Indian personages and their quests for Indian Self-Determination.

Beyond that of positive image formation, it is more important that the warriors of tomorrow, know and be familiar with the warriors of yesterday and today.

Other courses that should be in an Indian Studies curriculum would be similar to those presently being offered at the University of Montana. They are--

The Reservation Indian. This course covers the major laws

and statutes regarding Indian; traces the development of modern day tribal government; describes federal, state and tribal relations; economic development; Indian education, health; the purpose and structure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; and the arguments for and against Indian assimilation. The course also singles out the influence of the church as an agent of forced acculturation and social change:

*The Urban Indian. Traces the development of Indian relocation programs, and the current social and economic condition of Indians in our major metropolitan areas, governmental policy toward the off-reservation Indian; examines the development of national Indian organizations and relationships between and off reservation Indians:

American Indian Religion and Philosophy. A study of selected belief systems; origins, world views; religious ceremonies and the ways they have been affected by western civilization:

Contemporary Issues of the American Indian. Course deals with such contemporary issues as tribal self-government and self-determination; Indian rights; assimilation; and, generally, the goals, the Indians are pursuing with respect to their place in a white dominated society:

**Seminar. Research and analysis of critical issues affecting Native Americans:

*To be withdrawn after the 1973-74 academic year.
**Subject to approval by the University Curriculum Committee for the 1974-75 academic year.

Independent Study. Selected topics on Indians conducted under the guidance of a staff member; (and)

American Indian Education. Parochial Period to Self-Determination Period in Indian education from a historical perspective; examination of Missionary Schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding Schools, and the State Public Schools and their effects and implications for the Indian child; a study of the Johnson O'Malley funding for Indian education and its abuse, etc.; and a look at the unique educational needs of the Indian child and the demand for sensitive and enlightened educators.[20]

All of the above courses offered at the University of Montana could be adapted to meet the needs of any Indian Studies Program. The same could be said for all the other courses cited throughout

the paper. This list constitutes what I believe should compose a basic Indian Studies undergraduate curriculum.

The curriculum I have outlined could constitute a major, a minor, a concentration, a stress area, or the beginnings of a degree granting program in Indian Studies. The direction that a particular program chooses must be dictated by the needs of the students and the American Indian community involved, limited only by the degree of financial commitment of the particular college or university.

The University of California, Berkeley has a degree granting program. In my opinion it is necessary to build a program this large for survival on a campus of that size. However with a degree those graduates will be able to teach Indian Studies, work in agencies dealing specifically with the American Indian, and being the community activists in Indian controlled and Indian run organizations.

Members of tribal councils and employees of various tribes could also use this degree and in this context, I see the need for a degree granting program in Indian Studies.

Again, the circumstances and the peoples involved should dictate the nature of the program. The majority of students at the University of Montana did not desire a major as yet. However the Montana State Legislature enacted House Bill 343 into law. This act requires American Indian Studies as part of the educational background of public school teaching personnel employed in public schools located in the vicinity of or on Indian reservations where the enrollment of Indian children qualifies the school for Federal funds for Indian education programs. The law further encourage American Indian Studies as part of the educational background of all school

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personnel employed in the state.

Based upon our limited faculty of one, and with the budgetary situation appearing bleaker than imagination can conceive, we designed a program with the existing courses on campus and established the following requirements for an Indian Studies Teaching Minor:

LA 240 - 3 credits	The Reservation Indian
LA 242 - 3 credits	Contemporary Issues of the American Indian
LA 300 - 4 credits	American Indian Education
LA 301 - 4 credits	American Indian Religion and Philosophy
ANTH 361 - 4 credits	Indians of North America
ANTH 365 - 3 credits	Indians of Montana
ART 388 - 3 credits	Art of North American Indians
EDUC 428 - 3 credits	Methods of Teaching Social Studies in Secondary Schools (Indian Studies is to be involved in teaching this course)
4 credits	Electives Selected with Advisor
31 credits	TOTAL

Indian Studies on the University of Montana campus should receive notification of approval or disapproval of the proposed minor by January, 1974. We have also requested an index change from LA for Liberal Arts to IS for Indian Studies.

We believe this proposed teaching minor demonstrates our quest for academic excellence as a unit of the University of Montana, and demonstrates our commitment to preserving the cultural integrity of the American Indian. At least, in Montana, ALL Indian students will no longer have culturally insensitive teachers. The next step we are anxiously awaiting is pending House Bill 501, which will require all teachers in the State of Montana to have a background in American Indian Studies.

Obviously, the educational process must not stop at the undergraduate level, but continue at the graduate level. The University of Montana had a Master's Program in American Indian Arts which is

interdisciplinary in nature with the primary emphasis on Art. The student's plan of study is augmented by courses involving such disciplines as history, religious studies, radio-television, social work, and anthropology.

Indian Studies courses augment the student's studies in these areas. When the program began the student had to find a sponsor who was liberal enough to let him take a course in one department which was in reality an Indian Studies course. Thus far Indian Studies has been unsuccessful in gaining approval of the Graduate Council allowing us to offer graduate credit for our courses.

A graduate program in Indian Studies presupposes, I believe, a program with a practical and field based approach. This is possible for the institutions of higher learning that have internship programs and omnibus courses, such as we do at the University of Montana. I believe that an Indian Studies Graduate Program would be more effective if we provided our students with the opportunity to learn in the areas in which they may be employed. Thus, my program would be as follows:

9 credits - <u>One quarter on campus in an academic atmosphere</u>
3 credits - Seminar Course dealing with suggested topics as:
Ethno Historical Research
American Indian Community Research
Research Techniques (needs assessments, evaluation, etc.)

6 credits - Thesis Project Design
Outlining a plan of study on an Indian Reservation or in an Indian or Tribal Organization

18 credits - <u>Two quarters off campus on an Indian Reservation or in an Indian or Tribal Organization</u> (9 credits/quarter) Implementation of Thesis Project--possible alternatives:
Conducting Ethno Historical Research
Evaluating Teaching Materials
Evaluating Indian Projects
Evaluating Indian Organizations

Conducting Community Studies
These two quarters would be basically an Internship Program.

6 credits - Summer Session (Either on or off campus)
Student would write his thesis on Ethno Historical Research or on his Community Study
Revise his Thesis Project. where found to be impractical
Write his evaluation of teaching materials, projects, or oraganizations.

33 credits TOTAL

The Indian graduate student would have to work in close concert with a Graduate Committee predominantly composed of Indian Studies staff. One problem inherent in a graduate program of this type is that Indian Studies would have to seek outside funding to support its students financially. The Center-Satellite Program at the University of South Dakota, of which we are a satellite would be one model. The primary thrust of this program is to train American Indians on the graduate level in Counseling and Guidance. Part of the training is on campus, but the majority is off campus providing the American Indian graduate student with practical field work experience on four of the seven Indian reservations in Montana.

I would also strongly recommend the creation of summer institutes on campuses patterned upon that of the Indian Studies Summer Training Program at the Oklahoma College of Liberal Arts, Chickasha, Oklahoma. It is--

> A program for the sensitization of persons involved in teaching and preserving the heritage of Southern Plains Indians and in assisting the Indians in the transitional steps to achieving more satisfying life patterns in twentieth century America.[21]

This program with funding under Title V, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare sponsors a series of either one or two week institutes having as its target population

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the Southern Plains Tribes. The 1973 Institutes dealt with - -

1. Museum Practices Affecting Southern Plains Tribes
2. Contemporary Southern Plains Indian Family Life
3. Tribal Government and Legal Aid
4. Southern Plains Indian Oral and Written Traditions
5. Linguistics and Cultural History of the Southern Plains Indians
6. Indian Art (Appreciation, Creation, and Implementation)
7. Indian Music (Appreciation, Creation, and Implementation)[22]

Both Indian and non-Indian personnel utilizing as many Indian consultants as possible worked as a team to achieve the goals of the summer institutes. Indian involvement, in my estimation, was the key to its success. This was also the case for the 1972 Program.

Another approach to Indian Studies Educational programs is that of the Native American Cultural Institute (formerly the Civil Rights Desegregation Institute) under the direction of Rosella Redwolf Covington at the University of Montana. For each of her institutes, she relies heavily upon the use of Indian consultants, as well as several non-Indians. The program this year had two weeks of intensive study on campus and a field trip to the Flathead, Blackfeet, Rock Boy's and Fort Belknap Indian Reservations during the final week.

The participants met with members of Johnson O'Malley Committees, school administrators, and Indian community peoples; they visited the Indian controlled school on the Rocky Boy's Reservation, and went to the Deer Lodge Prison. This particular summer institute is followed up during the school year by in-service training workshops with the participants. The program to quote Mrs. Covington is as follows:

> The major objectives of this H.E.W. Federally funded project (in its third year) are to: sensitize school personnel in the service area to the uniqueness of the American Indian student; to bring about an elimination of segregation; to bring about an awareness and recognition of the existing

> cultural gap; and to provide solutions and approaches to problems of Indian and non-Indian relationships by means of technical assistance and training to school personnel.[23]

Summer institutes such as the two I have cited above must be implemented across the nation and not remain isolated programs. Based upon our heterogeniety, the only solution that I can foresee in such programs is regionalization as far as content is concerned.

The programs I have outlined throughout this paper have been based upon the assumption that the university Indian community can work in concert with the American Indian communities whether with tribal councils, tribal organizations, or American Indians. Local people must serve on advisory boards, if they exist. They must be consulted on curricula; and they must be involved. The rationale behind this concept is that afterall it is for these communities that we are training the American Indian student.

Seminars, whenever possible and when requested, should be held on reservations. I would like to emphasize WHEN REQUESTED. Too many of our non-Indian predecessors in education have gone into Indian communities "to help" but have succeeded only in further exploitation.

Any Indian Studies Program should be visible and in achieving visibility it must inform the Indian community that personnel are available to render technical assistance when called upon. It is necessary that we maintain open communication between Indian Studies and the Indian community. For too long the average American Indian has been alienated from the educational system and he views it as the "White Man's". However, we must persevere in building bridges between Academe and the Indian community/reservation. It is our obligation and responsibility to go where needed whenever we are

needed by the Indian community.

Staffing is a factor in how much assistance Indian Studies can be. Priorities must become a consideration in meeting the needs of Indian communities. All Indian Studies programs are like ours, overburdened and underpaid, but we are committed and dedicated to the concept of Indian betterment. While all Indian Studies would like to have highly qualified Indian staff, once an Indian becomes "educated" he is a valuable commodity in the personnel market, and is attracted into high paying positions in private industry and Federal agencies. Educational institutions are in no position to compete.

A second factor to consider in staffing is approaching college and university administrators with proposals to establish visiting lectureships for prominent Indian educators. Indian Studies programs should have artists-in-residence, linguists-in-residence, and instructors of Indian culture-in-residence. There should be visiting professors as well, yet funds are virtually non-existent for these kinds of developments.

Indian Studies is intergral to the education of any individual who lives in this pluralistic society. The respect for our brother's vision can only come with understanding that this great Turtle Continent was founded upon diversity of cultures, even prior to Anglo-European contact. Education must have meaning for all the diverse peoples of this nation, and failure to recognize this reality has resulted in situations such as the student strikes at the University of California, Berkeley; the disturbances at Kent State, the riots in Watts, and the final debacle at My Lae.

We are living in a society undergoing great social stress which must change and education is the master key to making positive change.

The societal mind of neoteric America with its technological inclination must simultaneously advance in humanistic attitude. Grandmother Turtle since time immemorial has carried the weight of the whole world and all its peoples on her back. She has a special affinity for the peoples that first trod on her back. Lest, in anger, she sink into the sea like Atlantis, allow her children to learn about themselves and others to learn from them through Indian Studies.

Indian Studies programs are existing but the moral, legal, and financial commitments must be recognized, continue, expand, and increase. With this kind of commitment will emerge the warrior-scholar-community activist that will lead this society back to the original tenets upon which this United States of America was founded: freedom from oppression, freedom of religion, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly. It is the warrior-scholar-community activist, the end product of Indian Studies that will teach you to have respect for your brother's vision.

Etaomenhess.[24]

FOOTNOTES

1. Oral tradition of the Hevataniu (Southern Cheyenne) historically recounts the formation of the earth, this continent, on the back of Grandmother Turtle. Consequently, this continent is referred to by the Southern Cheyenne as the Turtle Island or the Turtle Continent. Concomitant is the concept of this land as Grandmother Earth or Mother Earth for she provides her children with all the necessities of life.

2. Report of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge, Summary, p. XIV, November 3, 1969.

3. John (Fire) Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes, Lame Deer Seeker of Visions: The Life of a Sioux Medicine Man (New York: Simon and Schuster), 1972, p. 42.

4. Lucy Kramer Cohen, ed., The Legal Conscience: Selected Papers of Felix S. Cohen, pp. 315-16.

5. Henrietta V. Whiteman, "Developing a Native American Studies Program," Position Papers, Native American Teacher Corps Conference, Denver, Colorado, April 26-29, 1973 (Billings, Montana: Eastern Montana College), Vol. I.

6. According to the documentary "Cultural Conflict and Traditional Curricula" filmed by the University of New Mexico, culture has five components. They are: 1) Same language, 2) Same social patterns, 3) Same values and beliefs--ethics, 4) Same foods--diet, and 5) Same dress and adornments--costuming. Therefore, each of the heterogeneous American Indian tribes has a culture.

7. Whiteman, Position Papers, Native American Teacher Corps Conference.

8. Jack D. Forbes, Carolyn Johnson, et.al., Editors, Handbook for the Development of Native American Studies and Chronology of Native American History (Davis: University of California, Tecumseh Center, Native American Studies), April, 1970, p. 76.

9. Henrietta Whiteman and Robert J. Swan, Editors, Indian Studies Program, University of Montana, Missoula, Brochure, Fall 1973.

10. Marilyn Bentz, Sandy Spang, et.al., Editors, American Indian Studies at the University of Washington (Seattle: American Indian Studies).

11. Whiteman and Swan, Editors, Indian Studies Program, University of Montana, Missoula, Brochure.

12. College of Ethnic Studies, Course Offering Descriptions (Bellingham: Western Washington State College).

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13. James Monney, The Ghost-Dance Religion: And the Sioux Outbreak of 1890 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 1972, pp 2-3. The most influential (Wovoka) went up alone into the mountain and there met the Great Spirit. He brought back with him no tablets of stone, but he was a messenger of good tidings to the effect that within a few moons there was to be a great upheaval or earthquake. All the improvements of the whites...would remain, but the whites would be swallowed up, while the Indians would be saved and permitted to enjoy the earth and all the fullness thereof, including anything left by the wicked whites. (Captain J. M. Lee).

14. Request for Approval of New Concentration, Native American Studies (Hayward: California State University), 1972. (As I understand, the concentration has been approved.)

15. Report of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 1969, Introduction, p.3.

16. "Native American Studies Classes...", Native American Studies (San Francisco: California State University), 1972, p. 6.

17. Native American Studies, Dartmouth College (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College), 1973-4.

18. Haskell Indian Junior College: A Comprehensive College Serving the National Indian Community (Lawrence, Kansas: Interior, Haskell Press), 1971-1972 Catalogue, p. 63.

19. Native American Studies Division, University of California, Berkeley (Berkeley, California: Native American Studies), 1973-74.

20. Henrietta V. Whiteman, Compilation of Course Descriptions from Course Syllabi for Indian Studies (Missoula: University of Montana), Fall 1973. (Explanation for asterisked courses) *To be withdrawn after the 1973-74 academic year. **Subject to approval by the University Curriculum Committee for the 1974-75 academic year.

21. Henrietta V. Whiteman, Irene Mitchell, et.al., Editors, Director's Final Report of An Innovative Concept in the Education of Plains Indians (Chickasha, Oklahoma: Oklahoma College of Liberal Arts), 1973, Frontispiece.

22. Whiteman, Mitchell, et.al., Editors, Director's Final 1973 Report of the OCLA Indian Studies Training Program, Director's Statement, p. iii.

23. Whiteman and Swan, Editors, Indian Studies Program, University of Montana, Missoula, Brochure. Statement submitted by Mrs. Rosella Redwolf Covington, Project Director, Native American Cultural Institute.

24. This Cheyenne word translated into the English has different meanings or connotations. It means: it happens so. It also has the connotations of: it is this way; or, so be it.

THE RELATION OF INDIAN STUDIES TO THE UNIVERSITY STRUCTURE

by

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Introduction

Under the philosophy of Indian Studies at this University, one of the identified needs of the Indian community is trained leadership with a wider scope of understanding in the theoretical significance of Indian cultural perceptions and practices in their application toward change. The need for this understanding exists not only in the Indian community where change is to be made pertinent, but also exists in the non-Indian community where both motive and action for change in the Indian community must have non-Indian support and influence on the dominant system.

Change for the purpose of change within the Indian community is not the goal, and few will deny that it is taking place in terms of available programs for development. But far too many do not realize that the criteria for most of these programs are established by the dominant society which, in effect, subverts Indian criteria as bases

for change. The nature of this form of domination intimidates Indian leadership because of their dependence on outside resources for funds and guidance. This domination may become so conditional that initial motive as the inducement for action is compromised in order to get funds. This situation can be corrected if training offers opportunity to understand the relative strength of Indian self-determination as a rational concept fitted into and supportable by the dominant system. Training must seek understanding of Indians in their tribal efficacy as determinable within the dominant system's process and also within processes inherent in tribal institutions that are still recognized as beyond the dominant system's right to control. Undergraduate training in its pursuit of general and technical education is often rendered inadequate as a basis for the development of leadership that requires more comprehensive treatment of materials than its curriculum can offer.

By way of analogy, training at the undergraduate level produces "carpenters" whose training is primarily concerned with acquiring technical skills for assuming traditional roles. In the case of Indian technicians or "carpenters" who return to the Indian community, their technical training at best gives them only functions that carry out predetermined goals introduced from without, and not the type of leadership functions which can produce creative process for changes that enhance the development of the environment as only the Indian, in his familiarity and understanding of it, can perceive.

Without training for broader understanding beyond the

requisites attending the technician's role, the Indian in this situation not only is at a distinct disadvantage in dealing with the rationale of the existing system in order to influence and redirect it. But the Indian technician is often seen by the Indian community as supporting a system contrived by the outside world to dispossess the Indian. On the other hand, more specialized training in the development of independent reasoning and judgment upon broader perspectives in the relations between Indian and non-Indian systems could provide the "architectural" approach in bringing about change policies that assert Indian self-determination.

Indian Studies at the Graduate Level

The training of the kind of leadership envisioned in AIS is seen through a graduate study approach which takes the student, whether Indian or non-Indian, to a point where he already possesses a well-balanced general education, upon which to build a more comprehensive and specialized understanding of Indian systems for a comparative analysis. Obviously, there is no magic in graduate level training as such, but even under the traditional approach to graduate study the opportunity for deeper penetration into any given subject matter through more intensive treatment of literature and independent investigation offers the stimulation and encouragement for comparison and analysis at broader levels. This investigation must lead to conclusions closer to the "big picture" as the initial point from which to draw more specific conclusions.

The in-depth study of the relationship between Indian and

non-Indian based views and practices offers the opportunity to evaluate the direction of general development in the Indian community. The significance of evaluation skills for Indian students particularly becomes even more important when viewed in light of situations where programs for development have lacked evaluation and prediction processes based on goals that could be formulated from within the framework of the Indian cultural value system. The development of this skill, indeed, offers to the Indian community a new type of resource people whose enlightened sensitivity to Indian-oriented needs can have a lasting impact upon leadership process for expanding alternative courses of action.

In the context of training, non-Indian student involvement with Indian issues through a program of comprehensive analysis enables him to understand that Indian perceptions about change could be significant in promoting the rationality of long-ranged Indian development with support from the non-Indian system. In the past nearly all changes in Indian affairs have come at the instance of the non-Indian system to suit its purposes and control. There is need to transmit better understanding for Indian community-based beliefs about change to educate the non-Indian toward support for changes that are suitable to Indian purposes and control.

It becomes apparent, in this light, that past controls in Indian affairs, such as public opinion, legislative action and policy management of funds for programs have paid little or no attention to the effects of cross-cultural values upon determinations of Indian need. The Indian ethic has had no part in determining their own destiny. Instead, there has been an overemphasis

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in recent times on rights of Indians in their ethnic sense to determine their political equality from which to derive their entitlement and hence, need. The result is the notion of affirmative action which is a plan to achieve national goals in putting Indians and other ethnic groups in their "rightful" places within the scheme of intergration. In this respect, the goal is political stature emphasizing economic development as a primary step toward self-sufficiency and equality with the masses. The Indian system, although going through the motions of cooperating with economic development-oriented programs, is still philosophically in pursuit of the quality of life in terms of each tribal precept about human growth, even at the hands of the Great White Father to whom they look for support in this fulfillment.

While affirmative action undoubtedly offers opportunities to all ethnic groups in their desire to achieve equal status in the existing system, it may not be the primary opportunity for those Indians whose tribal status looks to rights that go beyond the scope of constitutional protection for achievement of their goals. Ideally, there should come a time when the Indian community will have complete control of its destiny, but in the practical reality of existing relations with the dominant system, the Indian system in its development needs requires the support and to some extent the favor of the dominant society.

A program of study which puts strong emphasis on independent investigation and intensive literature under guidance of faculty who are themselves proven students of Indian topics in <u>some</u> aspect is the kind envisioned for AIS as one that sets the stage for the

development of theoretical skills. This exposure along with tribal experience in cultural usages and concepts are seen as necessary elements for hypothesizing perspectives in tribal-federal relations for better understanding of their pertinence to change policies. This relationship, deeply rooted in the historical origins of national development, invokes a comparison between tribes and the Federal government in their socio-political and economic aspects and their significance for interpretations of Indian programs policies.

In principle, this comprehensive picture is seldom given pragmatic consideration by those concerned with Indian program formulation. It is assumed that this aspect of understanding and application of fundamental theoretical relations to planning and formulating policy goals does not exist as a specialized treatment for study and training. Yet, the outcry of Indian protest against the goals of program development continues. In the face of plenty, we must be constantly reminded that we have not realized how greatly the Indian people, as all other people, rely on the ancient but venerable teachings of their lore as precedents to use in a struggle with their environment. As environments go, the dominating and technological society in which the Indian finds himself today is no different from any other past environment in which the Indian has had to turn to ancient precedents for guidelines to survival.

Background

Top level administrative support for the American Indian Studies Program at this University has roots in its continuing

interest and commitment to Southwestern Indian cultures over a period of sixty years through direct involvement in the areas of education, research, and service. Two years after the University accepted its first student enrollment in 1891, the 17th Arizona Territorial Legislature approved the Arizona State Museum at the University for the purpose of excavating and restoring Indian sites, preserving and displaying their cultural objects, and interpreting these data as part of the Indians' historical past. The role of the museum has been that of providing a link between the past and present Indian cultures of the Southwest.

These roots have become, perhaps, the most important foundational development for the establishment of American Indian Studies at this University by providing bases for familiarity with Indians of the Southwest. The philosophy and purpose of Indian studies have, therefore, found more willing acceptance here than they might have elsewhere under circumstances lacking this background. The general nature and character of University interest developed from its involvement in Indian affairs are seen as important constituents to an environment of the kind in which Indian studies can be planted and be expected to grow.

In 1915, the museum invited Dr. Andrew E. Douglass from the Flagstaff area to be Director, who was widely respected for his work with Hopi and Navajo leaders in the restoration and interpretation of early Indian history. Because of his interest in climatology he developed a technique in tree ring study called dendrochronology for dating Indian habitations and explaining migrations covering a millennium of time. Dr. Douglass directly influenced the development

of pollen study and climatology within the College of Earth Sciences. These two forms of analyses have been helpful in interpreting environmental history of early Indians and provide a baseline of information for the study of Indian change process.

An example of direct involvement between an Indian community and the museum was the excavations of Snaketown, an ancient Hohokam site located on the Gila River Reservation. With a cooperative agreement between Governor Lloyd Allison and Dr. Emil Haury, the Tribal Council passed a resolution permitting the excavation and providing Pima workmen. The work conducted at this site in 1964 resulted in the restoration of priceless Hohokam artifacts, some of which are displayed at the Pima Culture Center, and numerous publications interpreting the life of a pre-historic Indian society in its sophisticated development of irrigation and its relationship with other similar Mexican Indian societies. Another result is a color movie with a narrative showing varying stages of the excavation and intrepeting the social processes through time which offers Pimas a rich source of cultural history. It was through the influence of Governor Allison and Dr. Haury that the Snaketown site was established as a national monument.

In 1915 the University was reorganized to include the College of Agriculture and the Agricultural Experiment Station for providing education, research, and service to Arizona's rapidly growing agricultural development. From that time, until 1968 when the University contracted with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to assume cooperative extension services to Arizona Indian communities, the College of Agriculture provided services in training and research,

in plant development, range management, and irrigation practices. Genetic research with selective cattle breeding programs improved several tribal herds, and the development of arid land grasses offered superior cattle feed.

The BIA contract offers services at nine Arizona Indian reservations, employing twenty-five trained and apprenticing people with three back-up personnel at state offices located both on and off campus. In addition to the nearly one-half million dollars of Federal funds, the University matches with nearly forty percent of that amount in additional resources. Under this service an effort is made to involve the Indian communities in the development of youth programs, home services, and agricultural advisory services. Indians are employed in positions for which they qualify. More importantly, this program serves to stimulate career selection into the various fields of agriculture among Indian youth.

There were many direct involvements between Arizona Indian communities and the University between 1915 and 1968 in the area of mineral exploration and advisory services from the Bureau of Mines, activities for which space will not permit an accurate report.

In 1952 the Bureau of Ethnic Research (BER) was established as part of the anthropology department under the direction of Dr. William Kelly, an anthropologist known for his research in Indian social change and the application of anthropology in problem-solving. The BER conductes studies in the effects of modern society's pressures on Indian societies and provides information to many Indian leaders about alternatives in self-rule. In a

contract with the National Institutes of Health, the BER completed an analysis of Papago settlement patterns, migrations in seasonal employment and styles of living, resulting in numberous publications providing information for the development of AIS.

In 1959 an Indian Student Advisor's position was provided by the University to serve an expanding Indian student body in need of special counseling services in college adjustment. This position offers a rich source of knowledge about needs of Indians in college life. The advisor's office is presently located under the Dean of Students and employs two full-time counselors and a secretary.

The President of the University established the position of Coordinator of Indian Programs in 1968. The Coordinator is responsible directly to the Vice President for University Relations and coordinates many of the request for university resources in the development of Indian human and natural resources. The President also appointed an Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs to assist the Coordinator with his work and advise the President of the degree of University involvement.

The appointment of the Advisory Committee, consisting of college deans and department heads, and the position of coordinator was a vital factor in gaining top administrative support in the development of Indian Programs. This Committee was most instrumental in gaining University support of a policy statement defining the University's role with Indian communities, respecting their right to self-determination.

Other resources that provided a baseline for the development

of AIS include a large body of publications from the Arizona Press, dealing with Indian topics and with a large number of master's theses and doctoral dissertations. In 1968 there were many publications utilizing Indian topic matter by the Arizona Press, including 195 master's theses, and 73 doctoral dissertation. Even though the major portion of these research works of Indian Affairs were directed by the anthropology department, 47 theses were approved by such departments as Agricultural Economics, History, Political Science and Education.

The 1968 University catalogue lists over 120 semester hours of credit in Indian subject matter and these courses are listed within the areas of Agriculture, Education, Law, Nursing, Sociology, Government and Anthropology.

The foundation of University commitment and involvement with Arizona Indians was firmly established as a baseline in 1968 with the preparation of a proposal to the Ford Foundation for the development of an American Indian Studies Program under the leadership of Dr. Edward P. Dozier, a Tewa from the Santa Clara Pueblo and an anthropologist of considerable international fame.

Formalization of American Indian Studies

Dr. Dozier organized a committee to determine the University's position in the development of the AIS program. It was the position of this committee that the AIS program would be a logical extension of a long history of commitment to Indian community development. The Ford proposal reviewed the growing educational needs of nearly 100,000 Arizona Indians meeting these needs must be considered as part

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of the University's regular commitment to all of Arizona's residents. The immediate program objectives were to recognize that the potential contribution "in Indian education requires participation of American Indian faculty and staff." The depth of Dr. Dozier's insight was illustrated in the following words, "By virtue of their cultural backgrounds, qualified American Indians are uniquely capable of providing creative insights into their chosen fields and of attracting both Indian and non-Indian students to the interdisciplinary Indian Studies Program." Recognizing the difficulty of locating qualified faculty from the Indian population and the importance of recruiting faculty members who were qualified according to the criteria set by the individual departments, Dr. Dozier said, "If such faculty (Indian Studies) are not themselves American Indians they should at least be qualified as proven students and teachers of those aspects of American Indian culture."

At the University in 1968, there were four American Indians in professional positions. The Ford Grant required that state funds be matched with Ford's to provide seven faculty positons. The University exceeded the terms of the grant in stating that these positions would be firmly established within individual departments at the termination of Ford's five-year commitment.

After much deliberation the Committee decided not to isolate the AIS program as a special University department. Rather, these AIS positions were made available throughout the total University system enabling the responsibility for AIS to be diffused, thus emphasizing a multi-disciplinary approach. This decision provided for greater University involvement, but it also posed serious

problems in gaining commitments of various departments.

A serious effort was made by the committee to elicit support for AIS from college deans, department heads, directors of programs, individual faculty and staff. Functioning with support from the President's Office allowed the committee greater ease of contact with these staff members. Although it was not an easy task to convince these people of the importance of providing a degree of commitment to a population representing six percent of Arizona's total, response has been quite favorable in supporting AIS, and interest remains high in filling the remaining three positions.

Aside from the tremendous history of involvement and support for Indian Programs at the University, the AIS program provides an excellent opportunity for disseminating information of current Indian affairs. This is a function of the Coordinator of Indian Programs' Office with AIS faculty providing baseline data for curriculum development and assisting with graduate student study assignments.

All of the students are encouraged to become directly interested in tribal communities through University programs, especially those Indian students for whom direct involvement may be possible. There is strong interest among non-Indian students to become involved in Indian communities, but this requires the development of greater degree of coordination with Indian communities. In some few instances such students are already involved with Indian communities through program contracts between the tribe and the University.

In summary, top administrative support for AIS has been built upon a foundation of a demonstrated long-term involvement with Indian affairs. This support was facilitated through the President Office and the powerful influence of his Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs.

Top administrators are excited about the potential of training Indian leadership as outlined above. The Indian student enrollment since 1968 has multiplied five times. Since 1941 seventy degrees have been awarded to Indian students, (seven of these at doctoral level) providing a baseline for theoretical understanding of the outside world in translating technical knowledge for Indian development. Over a twelve month period (September 72-73), the Coordinator reviewed University contracts and proposals calling for over two million dollars in program funds for Indian affairs. It is felt that the degree of University commitment will become even greater as our graduating students return to serve their home communities.

Summary

American Indian Studies, in reality, is but a formalization of the longstanding interest and involvement by the University of Arizona in Indian related activities. It was not a new concept demanding an adjustment in views and attitudes about Indians that were not already implicit in many activities affecting Indians in which the University was involved. In recent years, the Administration has fostered closer relations between the University's resources and the total community of Arizona in its function as a

public institution. This new emphasis buttresses University relations with Indian communities already established as a policy of the University.

The formalization of Indian Studies then has the effect of broadening its conceptual boundaries into the total structure of the University's larger scope in education, research and service. The importance of pursuing this approach in establishing Indian Studies is to gain a stronger likelihood for long-term programs which find support in conventionalized forms already associated with the existing system. It is equally important to recognize the probability that short-term support could only result from isolating Indian Studies from the institution. This is especially true where the isolation is justified by the uniqueness and critical nature of Indian needs.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIAN STUDIES TO INTERRACIAL UNDERSTANDINGS

by

David Swenson

Federal Way, Washington

Introduction

Is there a need for American Indian history and cultural courses at the college and graduate level for non-Indians? Would a prospective political scientist, teacher, lawyer, banker or businessman benefit in the adult years of his life from Indian Studies courses taken during his educational years? At a time when we are confronted with very grave legal, moral, social and political problems, compounded by the rise of cultural nationalism, can we find anything worthwhile and beneficial in Indian Studies for the non-Indian?

In an effort to find a positive answer to these questions, this paper is going to concern itself with the Indian as he is seen in formal American History, as he is imagined and as he is to White institutions, and from these rather imprecise images suggest solutions to the negative status of Indians in White America. It is possible that understanding and helping each other to work together as a community,

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or on a larger scale as a nation, in part lies in formal education which admits the relevancy of Indian history and culture as an integral part of an academic program for non-Indians.

There are many areas in this country such as the Pacific Northwest where it is difficult for professional people to travel through life and form careers without confronting American Indians in one manner or another. Most people tend to avoid such encounters but they often do not understand why they shy away from these experiences. The city of Auburn, Washington, for example, with a population of 25,000 borders on the Muckleshoot Indian Reservation which has a population of some 800 Indians. Presently there is not a single job in Auburn held by a Muckleshoot Indian. No attorney in the city will take an Indian case; most claim an ignorance of Indian law as an excuse for their refusal. In the past 15 years only one Muckleshoot Indian has graduated from Auburn High School. Only hostility and ignorance characterize the relationships of Indians and Whites in this city.

The situation in which the city of Auburn and the Muckleshoots find themselves is not uncommon. It is repeated a thousand fold across our nation everywhere that Indian reservations exist. It causes one to wonder how many Americans know what an Indian is? After more than 60 years of Hollywood movies, two decades of television, millions of dime novels, Alcatraz, the Fort Lawton seige, the Trail of Broken Treaties and finally Wounded Knee 1973, how many Americans can begin to make any sense out of the corrupted historical images and the rhetoric of contemporary social protest? Why does it matter? Is there anything inherent in Indian history and culture that would

be worth learning or that would provide us, if not the answers to these questions, at least the ability to phrase questions about these problems?

Indians and the Textbooks

Probably one of the most influencial factors in determining the attitudes of people is the subject matter that they learn in their early years. The textbooks used in the Pacific Northwest earlier in this century were notorious for their unfair and abrupt treatment of Indians. We find today that the American Indian is lost somewhere between the movie imagery of the Old West and the actual cultural and historical truths about American Indians. Unfortunately the image of Indians promulgated in the textbooks used decades ago in the Pacific Northwest smacked more of the old western stereotypes than of the historical realities behind the myths.

During the 1930s, for example, a popular history book used in the schools was Professor David Saville Muzzey's History of the American People. At the very beginning of his textbook, Muzzey states that although some Indian tribes had learned to construct elaborate calenders and temples, to weave rugs and fabrics, bake pottery, and build homes:

> Other tribes were sunk in bestial savagery, sheltering themselves from wind and snow behind piles of brushwood, wallowing in the southern mud like hogs, eating roots, grass, snakes, lizards, and dying by thousands from the ravages of the beasts and the diseases against which they were powerless to protect themselves. Nowhere had they risen above the stage of barbarism.[1]

Muzzey further notes that, "For the ethnologist the American Indians have been a picturesque object of study; for the government, since

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the days of the earliest settlers, they have been an obstruction to be removed."[2] (and) "They (the Indians) have contributed almost nothing to the making of America. The New World was a virgin continent for the European discoverers and their descendants, to make of it what they would."[3]

With these attitudes being ingrained into the impressionable minds of students in the 1930's and emerging today in the mature adults as subliminal attitudes of antagonism against Indians it should be no wonder that the majority of Whites in Washington state believe that Indians have no rights whatsoever and are just a drain on American society.

The attitudes of White America did not vary much as the years passed. In 1946, the Norwood Press, Norwood, Massachusetts, published Magruder's American Government, a textbook which was widely used in the Seattle School District and other parts of the nation and can be said to be a more sophisticated version of the basic American myth as earlier articulated in Muzzey's history book.

The textbook described the Indian citizenship status as follows:

> In 1924 Congress extended American citizenship to all Indians born in the United States. The aim was to prepare them to perform social, political, and legal duties of citizenship as any other citizen of the state in which they live. In other words, every Indian was expected to learn to hoe his own row among Whites.[4]

No mention was made of the ongoing exercise of treaty rights by the tribes, the Indian Reorganization Act which proved to be the most important Indian legislation in American history or the more recent Indian Claims Commission which was introduced by Washington state's own Congressman Henry M. Jackson.

The textbook seemed to imply that Indian laziness was at the

root of Indian problems and that with American citizenship would come a magical transformation of Indians into hard working American Protestants. A high school student of the 1940's would be in his 40's today. The attitudes that Indians are citizens and that their problems come from laziness could certainly be checked by doing a survey of those people in that age group today. Perhaps one of the reasons why Whites in Washington do not believe that Indians have fishing rights from treaties is that they were taught that Indians were citizens and citizens only.

Textbooks of the 50's and 60's didn't change much in this oblique and contemptuous treatment of the American Indian. In spite of the increased awareness of social problems and the demands of minority groups to receive attention, the story of the betrayal of American Indians by American institutions was not mentioned. It wasn't until the very late 60's and early 70's that textbooks began to shift away from this negative attitude toward Indians. In a Holt Rinehart and Winston textbook, Discovering American History by Allan O. Kownslar and Donald B. Frizzie which is currently in wide use, we find an interesting shift in the role of Indians in American history.

American Indians had gone from a negative image to a state of virtual nonexistence. In Holt Rinehart's text of some 800 pages, the Indian appears in only a few places, primarily as the people encountered by the first wave of European explorers and pilgrims. There is one section which deals with William Penn's letter to the Indians in which Penn evokes God's name and assures the Indians of his peaceful intent. In another section this textbook cites a speech by a Delaware chief and is titled "What White Men Are Like." In this speech, it is

the White man that is cast in a negative and scornful manner, "I admit there are good White men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest, for they rule."[5]

The subject of Unit VII is titled "The Last West and Industrialism 1860-1920," and consists of some thirty pages. It deals largely with the role of the cowboy and the dime novel. Strangely, there is not one word mentioned about the Indians, no comment on Indian life on the reservations, no word on the Massacres at Sand Creek and Wounded Knee, and no mention of the Dawes Act of 1887 which did more than anything to open the remaining lands of the Old West. It is as if the American Indian had vanished from this continent sometime before the Civil War. It would seem that the American Indian has run the gamut of negative images into oblivion.

With this survey of textbooks we see that for the better part of this century millions of school children have had a negative image of Indians drilled into their heads. The children who were systematically subjected to this propaganda in decades past are now voters, taxpayers, and policy-makers. They form that substantial core of American society that supports change but only a little change, that seeks tolerance but only a little tolerance, and that must be educated if the pressing social problems of our time are to be solved.

Until very recent years with the exception of anthropology there was no effort made in colleges and universities to pursue academic work in the fields of Indian history and culture. It seemed that David Muzzey's appraisal that "they have contributed almost nothing to the making of America" was to be taken literally by the academic establishment. Yet Indian history and culture do exist and have always

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been an integral part of America's experience of herself. Without Indians, for example, the nature of the western experience would be far different.

Our literature seems to have some classics dealing with Indians. They are James Fennemore Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans, Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha" and others give a stilted if restricted vision of the Indian. Other works such as Hemingway's Nick Adams stories and D.H. Lawrence's essays hint at an understanding of the Indian experience for other Americans. But even in the field of fiction, the subject matter has hardly been pursued so that if school children wanted an understanding of American Indians they would be hard pressed to find anything meaningful. White Americans have been deprived of the right to consider American Indians apart from the cherished stereotypes which have been perpetuated about them.

Cities, counties, towns, rivers, mountains and hundreds of other places bear Indian names. The city of Seattle, Washington is named after Chief Seattle of the Suquamish and Duwamish tribes. There is a statue of him in Seattle and high school students pay him honor by fighting over which school will get to place a pom pom in his outstretched hand after every football game. In 1853, Chief Seattle delivered an eloquent and notable speech on the occasion of the organization of Washington Territory. In his speech Seattle said,

> It matters little where we pass the remants of our days. They will not be many. The Indian's night promises to be dark. Not a single star of hope hovers above his horizon. Sad-voiced winds moan in the distance. Grim fate seems to be on the Red Man's trail, and wherever he goes he will hear the approaching footsteps of his fell destroyer and prepare stolidly to meet his doom, as does the wounded doe that hears the approaching footsteps of the hunter.

> A few more moons, a few more winters and not one of the descendants of the mighty hosts that once moved over this broad land or lived in happy homes, protected by the Great Spirit, will remain to mourn over the graves of a people, once more powerful and hopeful than yours. But why should I mourn at the untimely fate of my people? Tribe follows tribe, and nation follows nation, like the waves of the sea. It is the order of nature, and regret is useless. Your time of decay may be distant, but it will surely come, for even the White man whose God walked and talked with him as friend with friend, cannot be exempt from the common destiny. We may be brothers after all. We will see.

While every grade school, high school, and college student is exposed to the oratory of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and other White heroes, the notable speeches of great Indian leaders are passed off as insignificant and unimportant. Chief Seattle's oratory is not seen to be important reading even in the Seattle School System which bears his name. He and his people were a part of the history of Seattle and yet excepting his name and his statue the city of Seattle seems content to let his spirit walk in solitude. So too it is with other cities and places across the nation.

Indian religion and art are not considered as worthy subjects either in the school system or in the secular fields of American society. Having been Indians downgraded in their classrooms during their formative years, many Americans did not think to examine whether or not Indian religions and cultures could be seen in the fields of religion and art as having unique substance and content. The art student does not study the particular forms of Indian art whether sculpture or handicrafts the theologian does not take the peculiar forms of Indian religion seriously as manifestations of man's religious spirit.

Indian art has faded into the distant past and those pieces that should have occupied an honored part of the world's art heritage have

been lost. The tribal art forms are recognized today only as parts of the collections of western art buffs. Much Indian art is condemned to the status of curio shop souvenirs. Where the Greek, Roman, Baroque, Gothic, Renaissance, impressionistic and modern art forms have an honored place in the world's museum, Indian art has received no such recognition. Perhaps part of the reason is that Indian arts were also utilitarian; they had a practical purpose and were not created simply for show.

American history as it is seen, taught, and felt by White Americans lacks the presence of Indians which, as D.H. Lawrence notes, will forever "brood" over the land. The need for Indian Studies programs is therefore not simply one of recognizing the demands of Indian students but a real need to fill a gnawing need of non-Indians for truth and substance in their education. It will also, hopefully, present a fair and honest case of what American history was and generations of Whites will not dismiss Indians by definition. . .by the definitions they have been taught in their formative years.

The Indian As He Is Imagined

As with all neglected things, there has been a price to pay, so it is with our neglect of American Indian history. The Indian history we do have is distorted and corrupted. It is the kind of history that prompts a five year old to ask her father, after watching Saturday morning cartoons, "Daddy, why do Indians kill people?" The television is full of people killing people, but somehow when an Indian is portrayed in the act of killing it is different. Different enough and subtle enough to draw the attention of a five year old. It appears

as a fearful and deliberately spiteful act.

Earlier, Professor Muzzey was quoted as saying: "...the American Indians have been a picturesque object of study."[7] Indeed, they have. Millions of dollars have been generated at the box office. John Wayne has killed more Indians in twenty years on the silver screen than the U.S. Army was able to kill over 150 years on the field of battle. Not only that but killing Indians was made enjoyable for every American boy who ever attended a Saturday matinee. This Christmas, thousands of boys will receive cap guns and play Buffalo rifles with which they will try to better John Wayne's score on imaginary Indians. More recordings like "Cherokee People" and "Indian Squaw" will hit the top twenty list and we'll all feel better because we listened to them. Come Saturday night, there will be a rerun of "Apache Uprising" on television and a commercial about a stoic Indian with a tear running down his cheek over pollution. Nearly every grade school teacher has taken a sudden keen interest in the use of Indians as a teaching tool. It holds the interest of the child and the child can learn to count by reciting "10 little Indians."

The only image the American people really have of the Indian is the one that has been perpetuated for commercial purposes. Even Presidential candidates will travel to an Indian reservation to have their pictures taken in a war bonnet with a real live Indian chief. And, of course, everybody knows somebody who works with an Indian who is a real nice guy and not lazy like the rest.

Through years of commercial images, distorted, incorrect history, and exclusion from American life, the Indian has come to be stereotyped

as a person who, when he can't make it in the White man's world, turns to drink. This image leads inevitably to the familiar statement, "We can't hire Indians because they are not dependable, and besides, they all get government checks." Both of these rationalizations for not hiring an Indian are untrue but they are real enough to employers to be believed. We could overcome them in part through the formal education processes.

Compounding the problem of stereotyping Indians is that whatever nominal attention is paid to them is focused on the past. Little or no attention is devoted to the Indian culture of today. Modern Indian culture is as rich as it ever was. Today's Indian is as much a part of today's America as his ancestors were a part of yesterday. The reservation's low life expectancy and high unemployment rate notwithstanding, today's Indian has the capacity to bring untapped resources to the college classroom and the community.

The Indian In White Institutions

Our nation's policy towards Indians has vacillated between covert assimilation of Indians and outright termination of the legal relationship with the tribes; neither extreme has been beneficial to the Indian or the Nation. Besides depending on White understanding of Indians, their future will be largely dependent upon the extent to which they will be allowed to manage their own affairs.

In President Nixon's message to Congress on Indian Affairs, July 8, 1970 he said, "The first Americans, the Indian, are the most deprived and most isolated minority group in our nation. On virtually every scale of measurement, unemployment, income, education, health,

the condition of the Indian people ranks at the bottom ...This condition is the heritage of centuries of injustice."[8] In his 1970 proposals to Congress, President Nixon urged the Interior Department and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to empower Indians with more control over Federal Indian programs. Only after many years of neglect and the demands of Indians has the Federal government started to respond. An Indian has been named to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs, so too with many of the top jobs.

In order to effect some equity in employment practices, the 92nd Congress passed into law the "Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972," Public Law 92-261. This law applies to all minorities and puts some very sharp teeth into the enforcement of lawful practices as defined by the act. In addition, very elaborate regulations, guidelines, and directives have been sent out to government agencies and others detailing how the Equal Employment Opportunity Act (EEO) has been directed to determine their minority status and report it by code. The American Indian has a code designation of 3. Further, the regulations state that, "Data shall be collected only by visual identification...." which means, if you don't see an Indian, you don't have an Indian. The problem here is what does an Indian look like. In the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs' book, "Answers to Your Questions about American Indians," the question is posed, "What is an Indian?" Their answer: "There is no general legislative or judicial definition of 'an Indian' that can be used to identify a person as an Indian..."[9] Thus the bureaucratic problem becomes "how do you visually identify an Indian when many Indians lack what is considered Indian physical features?" This problem leads

to the very basic problem, which is the lack of understanding on the part of White institutions, and would permit the issuance of such a rediculous and inaffective method of gathering data.

Other problems exist within the Federal system which will greatly impede the implementation and success of the recent EEO Act. The most important is the lack of a base of knowledge from which planners and those in field agencies will be able to draw as they attempt to bring Indians into full participation. The current and most used method of informing employers and staff on Indian-White relations is the "sensitivity session." This method usually consist of inviting an Indian from the community to a training session. That person may or may not be competent to speak on Indian problems. That, however, rarely makes any difference because what is important to those who are to be sensitized is that it be an Indian who does the sensitizing. The personnel in the training session will, in more cases than not, hear how the White man has murdered, imprisoned, and victimized and otherwise mistreated the Indians. In more cases than not it will all be true, but what those being sensitized will not hear is solutions to their own inadequate and distorted view of American Indian history and culture. It is impossible in a one, two, or even three hour training session to bridge the gap of information left out of twelve or fourteen years of education. Because of this basic flaw in the backgrounds of those who are writing and administrating EEO regulations, all their plans no matter how well intended are doomed to failure.

One of their shortcomings will include the development of inadequate hiring practices. They will be unable to go beyond the tradi-

tional White standards of education, qualifications, etc., and judge Indian applicants by more reasonable methods. Those Indians who do filter into the system through quotas, real or imagined, will find their path to promotion blocked by the same White institutional standards which will keep most of their brothers out.

There will be an abundance of vague general statements concerning methods of coping with the problem. There will be few, if any, positive action plans that realistically deal with the implementation of EEO. One does not need a crystal ball to predict the failure of the EEO Act, at least as far as Indians are concerned. The failure will come simply because White institutions see the problem as being that of Indians and not of themselves. To illustrate this point, a questionnaire has been filled out by the people in the Federal system, in the private sector and in various professions. Some of those who are involved in the spirit, intent and implementation of the Equal Employment Opportunities Act have filled out these questionnaires.

Although there are some interesting observations to be made on individual questionnaires, the real significance lies in the collective conclusions indicating an inability to deal with Indians. On a scale of one to ten, most rated their general knowledge of American Indians at four or five. This confession of ignorance would seem to be modest when a critical look is taken at the rest of their answers. Of all those questioned, only five had taken Indian related courses during undergraduate work. All of those five are recent college graduates. Two were in anthropology, which in most cases differ significantly from a historical or political science perspective.

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Only one was the product of course study designed specifically around Indian history and culture.

Twenty-four said that they encountered Indians in their professions. In most cases, their explanations demonstrate a casual almost indifferent and most certainly a superficial attitude. A few relate how Indians affect the individual's profession. Concerning the question, "Do you feel that courses in American Indian history and culture would have been any benefit to you in your profession?" most answered yes. However, there are some "ifs," "possibles," and other qualified responses. Very few felt it necessary to add anything in the comments section which once again indicates a fundamental lack of interest or credible knowledge on the subject of Indians as per their professions.

There are eight questionnaires filled out by persons employed in Federal agencies in the Seattle area. These warrant particular attention because these people are on the first line of implementing the EEO Act. If Federal government agencies' staff members lack a knowledge and understanding of American Indians, how can we expect Indians to receive fair treatment in recruiting, hiring, retention, and promotions? In this group of respondents were three personnel specialists, three personnel management specialists, one training specialist and one psychologist. One of the personnel specialists, the only one with formal academic training in Indian history and culture answers the question, "Do you ever encounter American Indians in your profession?" thus:

> Indirectly, I am advised occasionally by Federal agencies that a particular person who they want to hire for a position is a Native American. In addition some Federal agencies inquire in

> our office for assistance in dealing with EEO programs where there are Indian populations. In addition, I come in direct contact with Native Americans who frequently pass before the Federal Office Building hopelessly drunk.[10]

This answer emphasizes that while one government agency is advising other government agencies throughout the Northwest on the hiring of Indians, all agencies seem to be limited in their ability to deal with a situation on the doorstep to their office building.

Seattle has an extensive and growing Indian population. Like many others who cannot find work, the bottle often times provides a temporary solution. One cannot help but wonder what would happen should one of those drunks turn into the Federal Office Building and ask for a job. The psychologist who responded would not give his name and demonstrated a very low interest in the entire subject. This is unfortunate because this is the very individual who could possibly have the greatest impact on the hiring of an Indian before discouragement, frustration, and booze get the better of him. The others demonstrate no qualitative or quantitative skills at all in relationship to their abilities to effect any substantial, long term improvement for Indians within the Federal government system and private sector.

As previously stated, these questionnaires have only heuristic value, but if they are an indication of the amount of interest and knowledge about Indians then there seems to be little hope for Indian employment in government and other agencies.

The field of social work has also been included in this survey. Of the seven persons interviewed working the field of social work, in an area where there are an estimated 10,000 urban Indians living in poverty, all demonstrate the same conclusions reached for those in

Federal agencies. We find the same lack of fundamental knowledge and interest in the problems of a people who have the highest percentage unemployment rate. Not one of the respondents seems concerned or interested in the fact that the suicide rate among Indians is twice the national average and that most Indian suicides are between the ages of 15 and 24. There is only one, under financed, understaffed social agency in the whole Seattle area to deal with Indian self help programs. In considering this state of affairs among social workers we must consider the question, "Where does an Indian turn for help in times of stress?" For the 10,000 Indians in Seattle there seems to be very limited resources available.

Another major field effecting Indians is the field of education. Five from this field responded to the questionnaire. They include two administrators and three teachers. One of the administrators was born and raised on a reservation and has some Indian relatives, but curiously he does not identify himself as an Indian. He is in charge of the Minority Affairs budget, but does not explain how he works with Indians on the programs available to Indians at his community college which is located next to the Muckleshoot Reservation. One of the teachers, in the same community college, himself an Asian American, states; "From my experience in talking with students as a student and an instructor, specific courses in American Indian history and culture are not too popular outside of Native American circles. In a way, I feel that students become too depressed and thus 'turned off' when they are exposed to negative aspects of American history."[11] This indeed is a response worthy of comment. This individual is an Ethnic Studies teacher, who has had no formal academic work in the

field of Indian history and culture. It is evident that his preconceived notions about Indian history are tainted with a very negative point of view. What is even more disturbing about this attitude is the assumption that those things which may depress students should be eliminated from the teaching of history. Considering the quality of textbooks on this subject, it is evident that authors and publishers share this feeling about American Indian history.

A ray of encouragement comes from another of the educators who had this comment:

> The Native American in Ethnic Studies curriculum need not be isolated like that in a WASP college education structure. It needs not only acceptability as a course in sociology, literature, psychology, history, and political science. It needs to be established with those disciplines and given the same kind of academic respectibility, allowed to be labeled as undergraduate courses in Ethnic Studies assures it a certain death at the hands of education traditionalists.[12]

Others who filled out these questionnaires include a policeman, businessman, attorney, minister, and journalist. A banker, whose bank is in close proximity to a reservation, and in an area of high urban Indian population refused to fill out the form claiming his superiors did not want to get involved. This is one more indication of how Indians are excluded from White society.

No matter how important the EEO Act of 1972 is, you cannot undo decades of academic injustice to Indians by an act of Congress. There is no practical way to go back in time and rewrite David Muzzey's, Magruder's, and other's distorted racist history. We shall not argue the fact of whether or not Muzzey and others were really racist or simply products of their times. That would serve no useful purpose. The fact remains that their viewpoint of Indians in history was and is indicative of American education.

Until very recent years, there have been no Indian history and culture courses available in colleges and universities, nor would there have been even if public agencies had recognized the need and asked for them. What courses are available now are very limited and confined to Ethnic Studies programs rather than being an integral part of academic disciplines. A recent Washington State Supreme Court decision concerning the taxation of cigarettes on reservations revealed the extent of the subtle, pervasive and distorted view of both the historical and modern day Indian within the legal profession and state governments. In his ruling against the Indians, Judge Hewitt A. Henry made the following remarks, "Similarly, the Indians of several states have reached a stage of acculturation and development that makes desirable extension of state civil jurisdiction to the Indian country within their boarders."[13]

The subject of acculturation and degree of development for the Indian has never been a consideration of the State of Washington, its institutions or population. It is only when the subject of taxes is raised that judges, state officials, and others find it convenient to view Indians as equals with other citizens. Judge Henry further asserts, "It was the evident purpose of Congress to facilitate the emergence of the Indian from his inferior status as a protected (but nevertheless disadvantaged) ward of the Federal government to the status of full citizen..."[14] The judge does not make it clear if he is referring to cultural inferiority or political inferiority. Judging from his previous statement, the conclusion would seem to be cultural inferiority. Although it is popular to think of the Indian as being culturally disadvantaged, nothing could be further

from the truth. In fact, the Indian has been politically disadvantaged and that is quite different. Judge Henry's assertion that if the State taxes reservation Indians then they become "full citizens" is merely convenient rhetoric to justify the extention of State taxing powers. Taxing the sale of cigarettes or anything else belonging to Indians will do nothing for Indians in job market or in lifting the stain of educational untruths about Indians, let alone lift them from the ranks of the politically disadvantaged.

The Negative Role, What We Can Do

To the question, "Do you feel that courses in American Indian history and culture would have been any benefit to you in your profession," almost all answered "yes." But few of those who answered yes could have explained the meaning of their response. While our government, institutions, professions, and people have been insisting that Indians must learn to understand us and our ways and act accordingly, we have been unwilling or unable to learn to understand Indians and their ways and act accordingly. Perhaps this is an impossible thing to ask us to do, but if it is, then it is equally impossible for us to expect it from Indians. The Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 was in itself an admission that traditional methods of treating Indian history and culture have led to great harm to Indian people. Had history not so distorted their role in American history, perhaps things could have been different. Perhaps if the people and institutions in Auburn, Washington had understood the Muckleshoots and what has happened to them, there would be jobs open to Indians in their town. There might even be attorneys who

would take an Indian case and feel competent to win.

If we are in any way going to change the lot of Indian people in America, then we must be willing to change ourselves. We must be willing to accept our deeds for what they were and are. We must be willing to make truth the cornerstone of our educational system. In order to have any long range lasting effect, we must start at the very lowest elementary grades. We must be very critical of images and stereotyping and not allow them to become the accepted truth. In the short run some things can be done to allow the better implementation of the 1972 EEO Act. First, the sensitivity session should be augmented with formal academic education of American Indian history and culture, particularly in the geographic location where the EEO Act is to be made effective. Everyone, especially those who are charged with the implementation, line supervisors, personnel and management specialist, planners and field staff, must be included. Federal, state and local agencies should encourage the utilization of any expertise available at colleges and universities in their area.

Second, attempts should be made to eliminate stereotyping of Indians within an agency. New methods of evaluating qualifications should be devised and based on more reasonable standards, as well as providing the needed skills and training after employment to insure upward mobility.

Long term improvement for Indians in White society must be predicated on the fact that shortcomings exist within White educational methods across academic lines. Ethnic studies courses are needed now, but eventually the study of Indian history and culture must be expanded into traditional academic fields such as American History,

Political Science, Urban Studies, Business Management, Psychology, etc., where they should have been in the first place. We should not lose sight of the fact that Ethnic Study courses were demanded and needed because they had been left out of their rightful place in other disciplines.

The only possible way to eliminate the stereotyping and corrupted images which exist within the White society about Indians is through the established educational process. Immediate steps can be taken by encouraging the inclusion of Indian Study courses in the academic work of undergraduates and postgraduates. This could be encouraged by special weight given in employment for those non-Indians who have completed such work. Federal, state and local civil service systems already grant added points for veterans and others applying for jobs. There seems to be no reasons why the same could not be done for those who bring added skills in the field of ethnic understanding and expertise, to any given job.

We need to rediscover American history and the real role played by Indian nations and tribes. We need to rethink the images we place in front of the American people. The way to answer a five year old's question of "Why do Indians kill people?" is with the truth. They are also no different than any other minority in respect to being victims of racist history, movies and television. Indians are no different than others when it comes to defending their homes, families and way of life.

Footnotes

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VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION TRAINING MODEL FOR INDIAN GROUPS

by

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The development of a model for vocational-technical education cannot be done in today's technological society without also examining the kind of other learning that young people receive in the school and in places outside the school. All learning must be looked at not only in terms of the individual, but relative to the needs of society in the areas of manpower, worker satisfaction and citizen success or life style. Present manpower and training efforts are aimed primarily at those uneducated, disadvantaged and unemployed. Essentially they are, and have been, remedial and corrective in nature rather than developmental of human talents and preventive of human failure.

In addition the schools have had a hidden agenda which forced them to become the selection agencies of society, that is, one of their primary tasks was to decide who was not to be educated--who should do the unskilled jobs required in a work force that had a large amount of unskilled or muscle-related work to be done. In

the nature of things certain minority groups in our nation received far more than their share of these jobs by using an educational system which was selective in the area of verbal skill development. Whatever the fairness or unfairness may have been, even these jobs and this kind of work are in very short supply today.

This situation has come about due to the application of science and technology to the basic industries (agriculture, mining and fisheries) and to the fabrication and processing of the goods from these basic industries. Even many of the service type jobs have become automated and technological. Many of our youth have been held off the labor market for so long that neither their educational achievements nor their greater knowledge makes them employable. Our youth have become knowledge rich and experience poor, both at the higher income and educational levels as well as at other levels, and especially those youth from differing ethnic backgrounds and cultural environments.

The schools have changed little to provide either the experience necessary to utilize knowledge and skills or the new skills needed to enter the labor market at an entry level which will provide continued learning and growth toward a satisfactory career and life style. In fact, many things our young used to learn as part of growing up are now missing from their lives and neither the schools nor the rest of society provides these experiences in adequate amounts for them to effectively use the knowledge gained in school.

Recent analysis of youth unemployment data gathered by the U.S. Department of Labor (done by The Manpower Institute of Washington, D.C.) indicates that a larger percentage of school dropouts

get entry level jobs than high school graduates. Formal education has tended to isolate our youth from experience, responsibility and the real world as it is today. This isolation has always tended to be more true for minority groups in our culture.

In order to devise a model for skill development one must look first at the present nature of the educational experience of our youth and determine what essentials are missing and not provided either by formal education or the rest of society.

The two things essentially missing are: (1) the lack of plans or programs from which youth can develop a career design and life style with viable alternatives to achieve a dignified career and life role, and (2) a lack of experience in terms of responsibility, salable work skills or human relation competence required in the adult world.

Essentially the two missing elements are a plan with alternatives and experience which is usable and related to knowledge and skills gained in school. Such an assumption will hold even if the young person may have learned the basic tool skills of reading, computing and communicating, as well as the general knowledge taught in school. Even those who have gained specific vocational skills have had little help or assistance in making the transition from school to the work world or from dependency to adulthood. Job skills and knowledge are not enough; the human as the unique animal wants more. Thus a model for vocational-technical training is not likely to be useful unless it is in the context of a future with hope, dignity and personal worth related to a life style that allows the individual to become the kind of human he wishes to be. He must see his future as one with growth, personal development and an

opportunity to contribute to the needs of his family, his community and the world. Such opportunities may be possible to achieve in the future if one has an education, specific salable skills, a life plan and enough experience to use all three in a way that enhances his future and is usable to society.

Having said this, let me move now to basic premises which will underlie a specific design for an education design with vocational and technical training recommendations.

Basic Premises:

First, preparation for the work world in an adult role requires more than just job skills.

Second, students must learn of the career options open to them, understand what education and skills they will need in the future, and learn how their own hopes, aptitudes and interests will fit into some needed adult work role that has a future and provides personal self-dignity.

Third, too many of our young people are knowledge rich and experience poor--they have little opportunity to try their knowledge and skills in a real setting outside the school. Neither knowledge nor skills become relevant until they are related to usefulness through a personal experience in the real world.

Fourth, the situations necessary to provide students with such experiences and to have them learn about the many occupational areas where knowledge is used cannot take place within the school building alone.

Fifth, actual work and volunteer experience are necessary to bring

understanding to the young about skills other than specific job skills that are necessary in the work world.

Sixth, experiences with adults (other than teachers, parents, counselors) are necessary to help the young learn of the concepts of responsibility, opportunity, learning on the job, and the consequences of one's own actions.

Seventh, every young person must develop a career plan (with alternative options) which provides for an orderly transition to a next step both in learning and experience which is consistent with his own aspirations and abilities as well as with the realities of the world today and what it may become tomorrow.

Eighth, every youth must develop basic job entry skills in an area of his choice and related, if at all possible, to his career and life goals.

Ninth, every young person has a right to direct assistance from the school upon entry into the labor force, designed to continue his learning on the job and to aid in his continuing on a career plan.

Tenth, a follow-up and evaluation system after the youth has entered the labor force is necessary to keep the school informed of needed changes in knowledge, experiences and skills.

Eleventh, adults with specific job skills must be brought into the schools to teach.

Twelfth, every youth must gain the essential tool learning skills of reading, computing, writing and speaking in order to function effectively in the world of tommorrow.

Most research today indicates that the attitudes, hopes, self-images and image of the rest of the world that we carry through life are structured in our early years and become increasingly difficult

to change as we grow older. It is also true that our children have little, if any, opportunity to find out the role of work as part of the adult life. Work today in most cases is carried on away from home and the neighborhood and community; children do not understand why people work or how work may give one worth and dignity as well as provide the means by which one gains the kind of life style and career one would wish for himself. Few parents, adults or teachers could teach children what kinds of work are now available or what work will be in the future. There are few adult models to see or to pattern after in terms of work. Children today, since there is no program in the schools, are isolated from an understanding of the social, psychological and economic meaning of work in today's American society.

The changing nature of work and of the work force is such that a planned program must be developed to teach the parents and the children about the options available through the many new kinds of work available that use many aptitudes and talents not used in our old industrial or agricultural societies. If such a program is not started and carried on at an early age there is little likelihood that formal education will be seen as relevant by the youth in the school and often by their parents.

Today's work force is so changing that many new opportunities are now open that could use the unique talents and aptitudes of Indians, if they were carefully assisted in planning both an educational and experience design in their learning. It would seem to me that Indians or any group of people, more isolated from the total society (the White, upper-class suburbs), is likely to have difficulty in helping children and youth plan for the future, obtain a

variety of real life experiences they need and gain the knowledge and skills necessary to make a transition from school to the adult work world unless there is a specific plan throughout the educational system to provide these missing ingredients.

Therefore, I would recommend first a program of parental and elementary level career education designed to bring about awareness of the careers available, the knowledge and skills required and the experiences needed to design a life plan with alternative patterns.

The word "career" in this context means more than simply pursuing an occupation, being employed, or holding a job. It implies that:

(1) A career as a purpose in life, influences and serves to integrate other aspects of life.

(2) A career may or may not be a paid activity.

(3) A career does not denote a given educational level. It may demand major preparation and skill or involve less training and less sophisticated skills.

Career development, therefore, includes the continuous choices and adjustments an individual has to make throughout his life with regard to education, employment and/or voluntary work as those decisions relate to present and future options and one's desired life style. Major emphasis thus is required on the development of the self concept in the context of several life roles. It cannot be limited to the traditional concepts of knowledge and skill development, as they relate to jobs, but must include awareness, orientation, exploration, and progressive practice in developing the career aspect of self. At each educational level, the home, the school and the adult community are needed to help students explore

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and clarify self-concepts. Experiences must be followed with appropriate feedback to help the student understand their meanings in terms of one's career self.

This discussion, while too long in some respects, is essential to the specific program recommendations of this paper. The experience of the 1960's in the manpower, education and poverty programs have all indicated the need for much more than simple job skills and economic returns; especially is this true for our young. This would seem doubly true for Indian youth who have been often isolated, forgotten and minimized in the past. Education has not been adopted to their individualized needs and life styles, nor to the unique problems of moving from one cultural background into another while still maintaining a unique personal and ethnic dignity.

Based on the previous discussion and premises I present the following conclusions as bases for specific recommendations at the end of the paper.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Elementary (K-6)

At the elementary level a specific program of career awareness and the role of work in everyone's life must be developed. Whenever possible the fusion of the content subjects, as well as reading, writing and arithmetic should be related to specific kinds of work and careers. In addition adults should be brought into the classrooms to talk to students about their jobs and the basic learnings which are necessary. Field trips to places where work is taking place should be planned whenever they would bring new awareness to

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work and life styles. Whenever possible these adults should be Indians who are working and pleased with their life styles. Indian parents and high school students should be used on the field trips as guides and assistants. Teacher visitation to the parents' homes should also be provided to inform the parents of the program. Community meetings using films and other visual materials should be designed for presentation of the school programs and career opportunities.

Recommendation

Specific funds should be allocated to provide for the following:

1. Adult worker visitation to the elementary grades to discuss their work and life style.
2. Field trips to places of work. Where necessary this may take more than one day. Indian parents and high school students should be included as guides and teacher aides.
3. Parental visits to the home by teachers to discuss the concept is necessary.
4. Community meetings on careers which include parents, students and Indian community leadership are necessary.
5. The use of older Indian youth as tutors for the elementary pupils who need help in learning basic skills should be provided under conditions which give educational credit to the Indian high school youth, and in some cases payment for this tutoring. A program to prepare these youth to tutor should be provided--and is necessary.
6. Recognition by the school should be provided to those youth and parents who are helping, and should be carried out through formal recognition ceremonies.
7. Whenever it can be done, pupil assistance in the care of the

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school, beautification, kitchen and cafeteria programs, teacher aides, library work, or any other kind of pupil activity that contributes to the school or to classmates and community should be carried out. Recognition and actual marks for these activities should be provided as well as school credit.

Unless such a planned program of career awareness is carried out at the elementary level which involves community, parents, older students and school personnel, it is not likely that adequate interest or enrollment in vocational skill courses will happen. At present there are few Federal dollars available for this program and almost no state or local monies.

Junior High (7-9)

At these grade levels specific exploration of certain jobs and occupational areas should begin. At the same time discussion with the student regarding his future and career options available should start. The purpose would be to broaden the choices for a life style or a career rather than attempt to have the student make a choice; therefore exploration of several kinds of work is desirable, along with the kinds of education, skills and life style required.

The start of self study and evaluation of one's interests, aptitudes, aspirations and future plans should be part of the program. The early and continual involvement of parents is necessary, through group discussions but with specific conferences with parent, student and school personnel. The use of Indian adults and high school students again would be most desirable particularly as big brothers or adult advisors outside the school setting.

Whenever possible part-time work which would be mainly of an exploratory nature, giving educational credit or minimum wages,

should be planned. Much of this can be done as part of the school operation.

Volunteer activities designed to improve the school, community or home should be planned, especially with non-teaching adults, whenever possible using adults of Indian background.

Extended field trips to explore different kinds of work requiring highly developed skills and special education would be needed to give youth of this age the opportunity to see the various levels of work available within broad fields, i.e., health, construction, recreation, sales and human services.

Recommendations

1. The industrial arts and home economics programs should be designed primarily as occupational exploration programs rather than the traditional project-making classes. Funds should be available to redesign these classes for these new purposes and with money to allow for the extended field trips for work exploration and tryouts.
2. Parent-student-school conferences specifically designed to discuss the future plans of the student must be provided. Funds to hold these conferences in the home and to provide transportation and materials regarding the variety of careers available for both student and parent, are necessary.
3. A person should be assigned whose sole job is to find work exploration experiences for this age student as observer and as worker. This person should be of Indian heritage and able to talk to adult employers about the program and its purpose. This program should be carried on during the summer as well as the regular school year.
4. Every student at this age should have a counselor or teacher assigned to help him develop some future plans which include short

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term (next year) goals, intermediate goals (high school plans), long term (after high school), and life plans. The person should use test data, teacher information, employer reports and parental inputs in this process. Special support money is necessary.

5. Classroom teachers, i.e., English, mathematics, history and others, need special training to use the class period and assignments to help youth explore the various careers and to learn how their subject matter is used in the work world. Grants should be made for the purpose of training teachers in these skills.

6. A work experience and director of volunteer activities should be employed whose sole job would be to find various work exploratory opportunities, work experience available and youth volunteer activities available in the community. The liaison function with the community and employers would be made by this individual. The primary purpose of this recommendation is not only the work exploration and experience but the opportunity for youth of this age to talk with and associate with non-authority adults, about their plans, goals and future. Educational credit should be given for specific activities of this kind.

7. During these grades the use of adult workers to come to classes to discuss the specific educational and skill requirements for various kinds of work is essential. Funds for this specific purpose should be made available.

8. Career clubs could be formed at these grade levels, the purpose of which would be as follows:

(a) to give identity to career planning,

(b) to provide group discussion with outside adults,

(c) to provide group exploration of occupational areas, and

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(d) to give the individual some identity through emblems, programs, etc.

Again, at the junior high school level few funds are available to carry out such activities.

Where Indian students attend school with White youngsters, it would be important that these programs not be isolated and filled only with Indian students. It would soon be seen as second class by other youth and adults. It may be necessary to provide start-up money so more than Indian youth participate.

High School

Conclusions

The traditional high school role as a screening agency must be completely reversed. In order to accomplish this, certain specific programs must be initiated which force the school to function differently. These are as follows:

1. Every student must get work experience as part of his high school education related to possible career plans.
2. The school must accept responsibility for placing the youth in an entry job which is related to his career plans.
3. Every student must leave school with a salable skill at a competency level usable in the labor market.
4. Every student must have the ability to read, write and compute in order that he can learn after leaving school.
5. Youth must be given individual responsibilities which are consistent with his level of achievement and are recognized as having worth to the school, community and himself.
6. Educational credit must be given for learning that takes place outside the classroom.

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7. Adults with special skills and knowledge must be brought into the school to assist in the formal instruction of the school.

8. Programs must be developed in the school which replicate the business world and allow students to assume roles which they will be called upon to carry out when they leave school.

9. Scholarships to postsecondary technical and special schools should be as available as scholarships to four-year college programs.

10. For certain students residential facilities should be available during high school to obtain certain occupational skills which cannot be gotten in the regular day high school.

11. These opportunities should be available to all students and not just for the so-called non-academic student.

12. The school must be able to contract with private business to teach certain skills on the job.

13. School year flexibility and scheduling flexibility are necessary to provide the experiences necessary.

14. Every student should leave high school with a career plan which has involved his parents and counselors and which has several alternative patterns planned in case any one does not work out.

15. Every student should have verified work experience and a record of his qualifications as part of his student vita sheet.

Recommendations

Federal dollars under the new Indian Education Act should be used to provide the following programs. Where possible they should be matched by state and local funds to provide these for all high school students where Indian youth attend a public high school in order that the program is not seen as a remedial effort for Indian students.

1. A full-time job placement director should be hired to do the following:

(a) Locate work experience opportunities for high school youth related to career plans.

(b) Help every youth when he leaves school to find an entry level job related to career plans.

(c) Follow-up youth in both cases and report back to the school and to the youth the problems and changes needed to better prepare him to be successful.

Educational credit as well as income should be available to students while in the program. Federal funds should mandate educational credit.

(d) Every student record should include recommendations from employers as to the youth's work success.

(e) Instruction in how to seek employment, keep a job and advance on the job as well as plan future education that will be part of his adult life plan should be part of the program.

(f) Report to faculty and counselors on the progress of each individual student should be made.

(g) Work with employers to prepare them for their role in the program is necessary.

(h) Operate the program year round.

(i) Provide transportation to work sites when necessary.

(j) Provision for adequate supervision on the job by the school is necessary.

2. Special funds should be available to high schools which will design a production manufacturing unit within the school. This idea is based on the concept that high school youth should have the

opportunity to plan, operate and manage a complete operation which sells a product on the market in the competitive world, with the students reaping the benefits in the form of income, loss and experience. The author has developed such a program and used it successfully.

The school would receive the funds to capitalize the business. It could be done in agriculture, manufacturing, services, construction and any area which appeared feasible in terms of market demand and local conditions.

Students would serve as officers of the company, have specific job assignments and earn according to the hours worked and profits obtained. In some cases these could be planned around specific Indian crafts or culture. No doubt certain companies such as Sears, Wards and others, would be willing to subcontract to such school units for the manufacturing of products to their specifications. In many cases local companies or buyers would purchase units made by such Youth Development Companies such as preformed housing frames and small items they normally buy.

As part of the specific skill training of the high school student, he would enroll in such a production class, start as a worker and move up to more highly skilled work. Students could be paid in the form of stock earned per hour worked and be paid from profits on sales.

An adult advisory board to the student board of directors would assist in the planning, production processes, packaging and sales. The board should have some Indians on it.

Eventually a catalogue of Indian youth products could be available and distributed as a means of selling specific small items

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which people would purchase. This could include items from all schools which could form a cooperative selling unit to market products which had unique Indian identities. An ACTION program developed in the Tulsa, Oklahoma schools, or those in Georgia are good examples.

3. Indian high school youth who live in isolated areas should be provided funds to attend special vocational-technical schools away from home where geographical distance is a problem and an Indian adult should be available as counselor and guide when students leave home to attend such a school. In some cases this would involve several school units.

4. Indian high school students should be funded to act as pupil tutors to those Indian pupils who need special help in reading, arithmetic and other basic learning skills at all levels, especially elementary and junior high school. Education credit and work experience credit should be given to such youth.

5. Youth volunteer organizations should be funded where Indian youth perform or serve special needs in their community and school.

6. Residential schools should be available when distance makes this necessary and the total program of the school should be carried out by high school youth; that is, the upkeep, maintenance, food services and operation of the school.

7. Schools should have funds to contract for skill training through work experience on the job through individual business and employers. Arrangements should be made for summer internships with agencies and employers where the students live a long way from such opportunities.

8. Monies should be made available to state departments of education where this is feasible, to employ a person (Indian, if possible) to

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coordinate efforts statewide in terms of special vocational and technical courses not often available. Preparation of an overall state plan to coordinate efforts and exchange experiences among schools, should be funded.

9. A special school should be selected that can be used as a training site to prepare personnel to work with Indian administrators and teachers and others who are providing these new programs.

10. A private, nonprofit organization of Indians should be funded to develop a catalogue of Indian student built products and to market these products nationally.

11. In schools with Indian students special funds should be made available to help the staff find the special resources, in terms of people and expenses, to design a particular career-vocational-technical program to serve Indian students. Where this requires special conditions such as boarding schools, transportation and parental work, special funds should be available.

12. A specially funded Indian Education Center should be designed that would distribute information of successful programs as well as provide staff expenses for personnel to visit successful schools when new schools are planning Indian programs for their school districts. Monies to reproduce and distribute data on these programs should be available.

13. The provision for some Indian youth to work part-time while in school, leaving and returning to the school, as employees, or have the school provide the related academic work for groups of employee-students at the employers place of business, or part-time in the schools for individuals, is necessary.

The unique features of this proposal which are not often found

in regular programs emphasize the following as essential to a design for Indian vocational-technical education.

1. The use of Indian youth as tutors, aides and guides to young Indian pupils.

2. A product manufacturing and selling process, as a way of teaching skills and providing experiences most Indian youth (as well as White youth) do not get while in school, while also identifying Indians as the unique producers.

3. Work experience early and continuously through the grades 7-12 as a means of helping to plan careers and get work experience in a variety of settings.

4. Special planning to work closely with Indian adults, especially the parents and leaders.

5. To develop and train professionals who are especially knowledgeable about Indian vocational education, and to provide a central clearing house to aid local schools.

6. To provide for special contracting funds to private employers and other vocational schools when this is desireable.

7. To emphasize the need for early and continual planning with parents, students, employers and school.

8. To use the community and other adults as teaching and educational tools.

9. To provide the actual transition from school to entry job placement on a career plan.

Postsecondary and Adult Training

While I have concentrated mainly on the Indian youth, let me speak briefly to adult groups, especially those who need special help with basic educational skills, employment skills, and job

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skills.

Our past experience has indicated again that simple job skills are inadequate, especially if they lead to dead-end jobs. I have two specific proposals in the case of adults.

1. The development of a production manufacturing unit, owned and run by Indians, which produces unique products indigenous to Indian culture. Part of this business should be the provision of education and work skills as part of the operation. The cost to be covered by Federal dollars. In this case the educational and skill program would be part of the school.

An advisory board of experienced businessmen and educators would be used which would include Indian leaders from the community. As specific skills and experience was gained the company would try to find entry employment for the adults who were working for the company.

2. The second model would provide specific job training under an employer, but with the theory and related education provided by an Indian Education Agency. The unique thing would be job skills learned on the job under contract from the school, and then education and skill training provided separately. Counseling guidance and personal planning would be a major part of the plan. Essentially each Indian while employed would be helped to adjust to the work situation while getting education and skills that would qualify him for a more technical job.

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AN INDIAN VIEW OF VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL EDUCATION

by

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Preface

The wind and snow stung our faces as we stepped out into another freezing, South Dakota blizzard. We had been awakened at 4:30 A. M. to milk 20 Holstein cows. The Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school at Cheyenne River Agency had its own dairy herd and was experimenting to see if more milk could be produced by milking three times a day instead of the usual twice daily.

Each of the boys who were in high school or were 15 years old or older were scheduled on the 5:00 A. M. and 9:00 P. M. milk details for a six week period twice each year. Some grade school boys and the high school boys in the agriculture classes regularly did the noon milking.

I don't know how the three-times-daily milking experiment ever worked out; it was still going on when I graduated from high school. But it convinced me that I did not want to be a farmer. And because of this dairy experience I "volunteered" for all other Manual

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Training work--in the power plant, the bakery, the laundry--any place where I could keep warm during the harsh winters of my childhood.

Throughout my twelve years in an Indian boarding school (from 1928 to 1941), the "manual training" philosophy that prevailed was intended to teach all Indian children to become clean, White, respectable and hard working. And this avowed purpose, beginning with the first BIA school that opened at Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1879, would accomplish another most important goal--these children would no longer be Indian.

In the early days of United States history, the farmer was the bulwark of the nation, and what could have been more fitting than that these untamed children of nature should make (according to the planners in Washington who had probably never seen an Indian) this easy transition from living with nature to making nature operate for them.

By the 1930's other kinds of work training were added to the BIA curriculum. Since Indians could not or would not become farmers, the thought was that the boys could become laborers, janitors, barbers, carpenters and mechanics. Girls, of course, must learn the household arts, clerical work and perhaps nursing.

During this era, the BIA attitude reflected the viewpoint of the nation as a whole. Vocational training (a term that has gradually replaced manual training) was a dumping ground for those not quite able to make it in lofty academic pursuits--and clearly Indians belonged in this category.

However, even blue collar workers (and those with no collars at all) needed some grounding in the three R's, so my Cheyenne River

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Agency school--and other BIA schools across the country--organized the school day to provide one half day of academic studies and one half day of manual training. The consistently low academic achievement of Indian students even today indicates that the teaching in academic areas was not anything that Socrates, Dewey, Hutchins, or even Cal Dupree might admire. The manual training of yesterday would make a present day vocational educator shudder. No training in specific skills existed; no boy learned the theory of combustion or the technical aspects of the building trades and no girl learned about nutritional values or the psychology of human relations. What was pounded into resistant Indian heads was the "Work Ethic": It is good to work (with your hands in your case) from dawn to dark. It is bad to neglect your work for family gatherings, for giveaways, for religious ceremonies (your kind), or even (maybe especially) for watching the sun rise across the golden prairie or galloping into the wind on brother sunka wakan. The success of the "Work Ethic" classes was dismal as a glance at unemployment statistics on any reservation in the U.S. will indicate.

Within the last decade the beginnings of changes in attitudes have occurred in Indian thinking and in the national education picture--in opposing directions. As a few Indian people successfully struggled through the education jungle, proving that Indians did not have to be limited to "working with their hands", many Indians began voicing resentment at being relegated to the dust bin of education. And as more experts said that intelligence has nothing to do with racial background, more Indians began demanding equal opportunities in education for their children. (The current popularity of law courses for Indian students is an example of the

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new direction in education desired by Indian people--influenced also by the realization by Indians that their fight for survival is no longer with bows and arrows but with torts and treaties.)

During this same period the national education pendulum has swung from a holy reverence for academic pursuits to a glimmer of respect for vocational education. The increasing availability of Federal funds for vocational-technical programs has diminished the budding respect for vocational education. Some educators are even admitting with John Gardner that . . .

> An excellent plumber is infinitely more admirable than an incompetent philosopher. The society which scorns excellence in plumbing because plumbing is a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumging nor good philosophy. Neither its pipes nor its theories will hold water.

To be sure remnants of old attitudes linger on. Some Indian people still need to be convinced that they have the right and the ability to aspire in any field of endeavor. Some educators still need to be convinced that vocational education is as respectable as a liberal arts education. Given variable needs, interests and desires of students current education must provide variable opportunities. Moder education could adopt no better philosophy than the philosophy of the original inhabitants of this continent. Children must learn what they need to know to live a good life and they must learn it by doing it.

Vocational Education

Vocational Education today is getting a real shot in the arm

through increased Federal funding and increased awareness and respect from educators. With the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917 Vocational Education's image began to improve; with the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the amendments to this act in 1968[1] the improvement continued. Vocational Education has reached a necessary level of equality with academic and professional training, but a survey of 47,000 students showed that "over 70 per cent wanted vocational education experience in high school."[2] They were forced to choose between academic and vocational classes, however, and this should be convincing evidence of the desire for Vocational Education and the present inbalance between academic courses and Vocational Education courses.

Before the proliferation of community colleges in the last decade, vocational training was found mainly in private profit oriented trade schools although there was some industrial arts training in some public schools. At best these opportunities were considered suitable for people who could not succeed in academic areas; that technical-skill training might be preferred by many was not considered by educators. Since many community colleges were originally vocational schools a new thrust was given to training in salable skills for immediate employment. Industries provided long range forecasting of manpower needs and provided advisory boards to assist in planning meaningful and pratical curricula for community colleges. Through channels created by the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and Title I Amendments to that act, large amounts of money became available for college use and to assist individual students who were in need. In 1963 the Manpower Development Training Act provided further impetus for training disadvantaged

people by allocating monies for training instructors and for subsistence for students.

It is estimated that the average person will change vocations at least six times in his lifetime. Counseling to prepare students for such changes must begin early. With the advent of career education students can be made aware of the learning and skills necessary for survival--both individually and collectively. Career education, a current approach that is being variously debated, defined and acclaimed would provide occupational counseling and familiarization with possible careers throughout the total school experience and after with "strong protection of freedom of choice for the individual."[3] Since 83 percent of our citizens will never attend college, career education can no longer be considered necessary only for any restricted group.

The Indian and Vocational Education

On November 3, 1969 the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate published its 1969 report Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge. Although this report was extensive with many recommendations made by the Committee only four pages were devoted to vocational education for Indians. The information seems important enough to be included here:

> "It was mentioned that the Merriam Report of 1928 criticized the inadquacey and inefficiency of the vocational training programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and at that time some changes and improvement

were said to have been made.

"Vocational courses were improved and an attempt was made to relate them to the economic base of the reservations. Although academic courses were upgraded and increased and provision was made for higher education, vocational education still dominated the Bureau's approach to Indian education.

"It was the Bureau relocation program, begun in 1952 that spotlighted the deficiencies in the Bureau high school vocational program. The relocation program was designed to provide the means whereby Indians could leave the economically depressed reservations and go to an urban area where jobs were more plentiful.

"The Indian family or single adult was transported to certain cities where the BIA had established relocation field offices to receive them. Field office staff provided general counceling to the relocatees and assisted them in finding employment and housing. Financial support was provided until the relocatee was employed and receiving wages.

"It soon became apparent that the undereducated, poorly trained Indian with his rural background and cultural differences had not been adequately equipped to compete in the labor market or make an adequate social adjustment to his new environment.

"As a result of these deficiencies, between 1953 and 1957, three out of 10 relocatees returned to the reservation in the same year they had been relocated. There are no statistics which would show how many eventually returned, but the rough estimates run as high as 75 percent. A follow up study

conducted by the Bureau in 1968 of Indians relocated in 1963 indicated that only 17 percent were still in the area to which they had been relocated.

"The general failure of the relocation program to achieve the objectives for which it had been established had a major impact on vocational education in the BIA and generated a response in two areas. New legislation was passed in 1956 to provide training for Indian adults so that they could meet the labor market standards of the cities where they were relocated.

"The second impact of the relocation debacle was on the Federal school system. The failure of the program brought into sharp focus the shortcomings of the vocational education program provided in high schools operated by the Bureau. In 1957, a period of study and evaluation began and in 1963 a new policy was set forth which, in theory, ended vocational education in Bureau high schools.

"Under the new policy, BIA high schools would now provide only prevocational education. Thus, at the high school level, a prevocational curricula would be adopted that would qualify students for admission to post secondary schools. Such a curricula would include, at the ninth grade level, emphasis on reading, writing, and arithmetic, a series of 'practical arts' courses which would teach purchasing, packaging, money management, etc., and field trips to acquaint students with various occupational fields. At the 10th, 11th, and 12th grade level, the curricula would be focused on preparatory or 'exploratory' shop courses which would give the student a basic knowledge and experience in occupational fields.

"With a curricula now giving primary emphasis to academic courses and offering only prevocational education, the Bureau established a goal of 90 percent graduation rate by 1970 with 50 percent of those graduating going on to college and 50 percent attending postsecondary vocational schools.

"Recent data demonstrates that the 1963 policy for Bureau high schools falls far short of the goals set for 1970. The 1967 statistics reveal a 40 percent dropout rate of students entering high school with only 28 percent of those who finish high school entering college. Of the 45 percent of the high school graduates continue their training other than at college, but information is not available on how many complete their training. BIA schools maintain very inadequate followup records or no records at all.

"The success of the prevocational program is dependent upon the adequacy of the academic program, the ability of the students to master the program, and the adequacy of vocational guidance counseling. Several studies have been made of the achievement level 2 or 3 years below grade level when they enter the ninth grade, and fall even farther behind in high school. Obviously, such students will have great difficulty in post high school training programs.

"Other studies point out a desperate shortage of trained guidance counselors in the Bureau schools. Coupled with this is the fact that many of the qualified counselors in the Federal schools are not being used effectively or are not being used at all in their professional capacity. Moreover, qualified counselors rarely have a background in vocational education.

Counseling in the field of vocational education requires special knowledge. One study states that there is a 'built-in bias' in all high schools in prividing counseling for college bound students, but very little guidance for those students interested in vocational schooling. Reports from Bureau personnel confirm that this attitude is even more prevalent in Bureau schools.

"Another source of information on how well the 1963 policy is functioning with regard to prevocational training are the evaluations of Federal Boarding Schools conducted by the Subcommittee staff and consultants. The following excerpts and comments on the evaluation reports of four BIA schools point up dramatically the inadequacy of the present high school program.

"Stewart Indian School.--'* * * the Stewart experience falls far short of an academic challenge.' Students see the school 'as an easy place.' The 'watered down' academic curricula is '* * * given secondary consideration to the vocational program.'

"However, the vocational program (prevocational except for house and sign painting) is not much better.

> "Initially students are rotated from one vocation specialty to another * * * until the junior year, after which they spend one half day of each school day in one vocation * * * The boys who do best are encouraged to take painting or carpentry, while the 'low' achievers are placed in general farm work and heavy equipment operations. The girls may choose from one of two fields--general and home services (domestic work) or 'hospital ward attendant' training, which the girls considered a degrading farce--a

euphemism (they say) for more domestic work.

* * * the children * * * are passed from one vocation department to another never receiving sufficient training to prepare them for jobs. They graduate from the school with a high school diploma and a 9th grade education and expect to compete with other Indians as well as non-Indians in postgraduate vocational schools and the job market.

"It is readily apparent from such a description that not only does the high school prevocational effort at Stewart fail to prepare the student for employment, but it also fails to prepare him for further vocational training.

"Flandreau Indian Boarding School, Flandreau, South Dakota.--The Flandreau school receives many of the academically retarded and 'social problem' students and is considered a 'dumping ground' for this purpose. The curricula is intended to be prevocational, but the evaluation team found considerable confusion as to the specific goals of the school.

"The students appear to want more vocational training as '(they) are spending more time in the shops than they did the previous year when classes were an hour long. * * *Students progress at their own rate (in the shops) and take tests when they feel they are ready. * * * Of the upper classmen who do not take shop, half can't because they've failed required courses. * * * Mr. Mullin (an instructor) admitted that some of the training was being given with obsolete equipment.'

"In defense of the administrators of the Flandreau school, it can be said that the 'confusion' as to its purpose and goals

reflects the indecision and vacillation at the policy-making levels of the Bureau.

"Chilocco Indian School, Chilocco, Okla.--As with the Flandreau and Stewart schools, Chilocco receives many of the academically retarded and socially maladjusted Indian students. Also, as in the Flandreau school, there is pitiful lack of program direction. The evaluation report states that, 'There seems to be a question of whether Chilocco should provide a vocational, comprehensive, or academic program.'

"According to the administrators, 'Chilocco is de-emphasizing its vocational program in accordance with the 1963 policy statement, but 50% of its students entering 9th grade fail to graduate,' and 'the number of graduates entering college is practically nil.' One evaluation team states that, '* * * the program at Chilocco is inadequate in every respect.' The classes are too large, there is not enough equipment, and what equipment they have is obsolete and inoperable.

"Sherman Institute, Riverside, California.--The evaluators of this school summarized their findings as follows:

1. Inadequate outside evaluation.
2. Inadequate staff, both administrative and qualitative.
3. Inadequate administrative skill in budgeting, use of surplus property, etc.
4. Inadequate vigor in defending the interests of the students.
5. Inadequate admissions criteria.
6. Inadequate feedback of results.
7. Inadequate funding.

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8. Inadequately identified goals.

9. Inadequate plant facilities.

10. Inadequate vocational training.

"Even had the vocational program of the school been found adequate, it could not have operated effectively in light of these serious general deficiencies.

"The evaluators found that the industrial arts courses appeared to be 'hobby shops.'

> 'The shops and labs are pro forma. Metal and wood working machines and tools are limited in scope and are of World War II vintage. By most minimal vocational training standards, they are inadequate in size, equipment, and staff.

"One theme running through these evaluations is that the vocational programs lack a central, unified, coherent structure and focus, both within each school and within the Bureau system. In summary, although, the current philosophy of the Bureau is to prepare students for off-reservation employment, it does '. . . not prepare students academically, socially, psychologically, or vocationally for urban life.' It can equally well be said that the limited prevocational program in BIA schools has no relevance to manpower needs or economic development of the Indian community."

In the section on recommendations, (p. 24) the Subcommittee asked "That there be a thorough review of the vocational education and manpower programs in the BIA."[4] It is possible that the programs have been reviewed, but, to my knowledge, no earth shaking

changes or improvements have occurred.

As an example of the difficulties encountered in an attempt to change BIA policy from below (where the need is known) one year's frustrating effort was spent in getting community college vocational education courses in Washington state approved by the BIA so that Indian students could be funded for those courses. This effort succeeded only because of persistent effort.

The relocation program (probably in an attempt to improve its deteriorating image) changed its name in 1965 to Employment Assistence, without visible improvement. Training provided in the urban areas prior to employment continues to be inadequate (of quality and quantity). Short counseling sessions though possibly improved cannot in most cases sufficiently change the life views of a reluctant rural Indian to prepare him for the cultural shock he will encounter in a large city. Due to discrimination and expediency (hunger!) most trainees, in desperation, are eventually forced to accept menial jobs that have nothing to do with their training. In Seattle, Washington approximately 70 Indians are presently on relocation from the Northwest states and Alaska and at least half of these will eventually return to the reservations.

Most Indian high schools such as those mentioned in the Subcommittee report continue to offer academic training and vocational training of doubtful quality. Only a confirmed dreamer could possibly view these vocational programs as actual and viable preparation for the world of work.

A breakthrough in Indian education occurred in 1968 when Navajo Community College opened its doors. It was the first community college for Indians administered by Indians, and located on an

Indian reservation. Although N.C.C. offers the usual transfer and vocational courses it is unique in that the president is a Navajo, the board of trustees are Navajo and 70 percent of the faculty are Navajo, all of which enables this school to offer courses that are tailored to the needs and desires of Navajo people. Their vocational training relates specifically to what is going on in their reservation. Training for health services, land management technicians, business management, mechanical and building trades and adult education as prevocational training will directly benefit the people that this college serves. Although it would seem to be apparent that this program is one kind of solution to the "National Tragedy" of Indian education, obtaining funding for this college has been and is a continuous struggle.

Two new community colleges for Indians located on Sioux reservations in South Dakota were founded in 1970. Oglala Community College at Pine Ridge and Sinte Gleska College Center at Rosebud are administered by local Indian people. Their need for funding is acute; their plans and curricula have not yet stabilized, but they offer hope for the future of dynamic education on these Sioux reservations. The United Sioux Tribes of Bismark, North Dakota have recently opened a vocational-technical school, with the main emphasis on industrial and construction trades. Indians pay no tuition and funding is mainly through the BIA, state, and Federal offices.

Under the auspices of the BIA two special schools for Indians have experienced some success. The Institute of American Indian Arts at Santa Fe, New Mexico with mixed Indian and non-Indian faculty emphasizes Native American Art and culture with some vocational courses in such areas as drafting, commercial art and illustration.

The I.A.I.A. is one of the BIA's more successful ventures. The Southwest Polytechnic Institute in Albuquerque, New Mexico has as its stated philosophy "to prepare each individual to enter the world of work with all the technical and communication skills necessary not only to earn a living but to obtain satisfaction and promotions."[5] The Pueblo Indians, who comprise the school board, hope that this training school will lessen their loss of population through relocation, help to protect their land base and supply their young people with skills to survive in this technical age.

Four other Federal schools or programs offer Indian vocational-technical training beyond the high school level:

1. Haskel Institute, Lawrence, Kansas
2. Chilocco Indian School, Chilocco, Oklahoma
3. Indian School of Practical Nursing, Albuquerque, New Mexico
4. Dental Assistant Training Program, Brigham City, Utah[7]

As occupational training becomes a more accepted part of general education, opportunities for Indians in this area also increase, not in direct proportion but with the usual lag. In the current issue of The Native Nevadan there appeared a small item offering training for Indian students in construction trades through Lasson Community College. This is a two year course resulting in an A.A. degree which allows the student to proceed directly into the trade union apprenticeship program. The college training will consist of actually building and remodeling homes for Indians, and will include learning in carpentry, cement work, building, electronics, plumbing, brick laying and all other construction skills.[8] This kind of pragmatic, grass roots effort should be undertaken by more colleges. The

benefits to the students, the college and the trade unions are obvious. Manpower training programs which, ideally, research the labor market before instituting classes are funded by the Department of Labor and United States Office of Education and except for a few notable exceptions (Colville and Yakima tribes) have included Indians only incidentally.

In the past three years as the Indian representative in the Minority Affairs Office of the State Board for Community Colleges and on the State Vocational Education Advisory Council, in Washington State, I have become familiar with vocational education programs in Washington more than elsewhere. In the beginning Washington State had no full-time Indian representation in vocational education nor in the community college system. The creation of the Indian position in the Minority Affairs Office of the Community College was a struggle. We had to fight from the governor's office, through the legislators, through the state board and then interpret our program to other minority groups. Washington State now has approximately 1,700 Indian students and 22 Indian faculty members in community colleges. Probably half of these people are involved in vocational education. Some of the Indian instructors do not have professional degrees, but under an agreement with the Coordinating Council of Occupational Education and individual college certification departments, vocational instructors can teach while working toward degrees, provided they have had five years of trade experience.

Washington community colleges' Vocational Education programs range from basket making and wood carving at Fort Steilacoom Community College to on Reservation building trades courses provided by Spokane Community College. They include the well known and successful aquaculture

program on the Lummi Reservation through Whatcomb Community College and Western Washington State College. Private vocational-technical trade schools in Washington have cooperated with the BIA in training some Indian people from reservations in specific occupational skills. The BIA provides grants and the usual BIA counseling. Since follow-up information is negligible the success of these students is unknown.

Manpower programs here as elsewhere have been aimed at all disadvantaged people and no particular provisions have been made for the peculiar problems of Indians. Programs for Indians have to deal with additional problems of differing value systems which result in absenteeism and what appears to be lack of response and cooperation and dependability--the whole culture shock problem which cannot be covered here.

Through the cooperation of the Washington Coordinating Council of Occupational Education and the State Manpower Planning Commission, two current programs on Washington reservations are operating with consideration for Indian differences and according to Indian plans. The Colville Tribe designed the Colville Indian Tribal Enterprise (C.I.T.E.) which is a plan for tribal economic development. To accomplish their goals tribal members needed training in various management, conversation, industrial, and construction skills. The teaching is being done by Indians through Wenatchee Valley Community College. Trade unions will accept these trainees as apprentices after the completion of the course. This program began in the fall of 1972 after a complete study by the C.I.T.E.

The Yakima Nation's Business and Management Programs was identified by their tribal council as their major and immediate need in the

Spring of 1973 in order for them to properly develop and manage their reservation resources. The tribe was funded directly from State Manpower monies and the tribe contracted with several educational institutions to provide courses that Yakimas had decided were needed. Tribal council members, who manage the affairs of the tribe, are taking these courses along with other tribal members.

The Lummi's aquaculture program has attained national note because of its uniqueness. They were the first "fish farmers" and the first Indian group to plan and execute an operation designed by and for themselves. The training is done by Whatcomb Community College and Western Washington College. Other coastal Indians are now developing similar marine technology programs which necessitate training programs on their reservations.

Vocational Rehabilitation, a retraining program, might offer opportunities to Indians with physical handicaps. Some Indian students have been admitted to community colleges under this program, but the number is small due to scanty funding by national vocational educational offices.

Although there are over 240 vocational educational courses in community colleges in Washington and some 300 in private trade schools, Indians traditionally have not been able to take advantage of more technical offerings. Because of poor academic preparation and inadequate guidance and counseling throughout the whole school experience Indian students have been left hopelessly adrift. The combination of a poor basic education and the lack of proper counseling, along with discriminatory attitudes by many educators, unions and employers adds up to the problem of Indians in vocational education. To equal the White proportion of vocational education at institutions

of higher learning, American Indians will have to increase their participation by 650 percent.[9]

Recommendations, Indians and Vocational Education

The day for studying Indians is past, and that day has been filled to overflowing with the "What" and the "Why". If we are to survive today we must come to grips with "How". "Half of our problems socially will be taken care of when we solve the problems of unemployment and when we have employment that's pertinent and meaningful on the reservation. All we have left is our land and we aren't going to have it if we don't get some land management specialists...and not sociologists, psychologists, social workers, and anthropologists who want to teach us about Indians. We want programs for Indians in today's world."[10]

The national mandate expressed in the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and its amendments emphasized education which is realistic. To be realistic education must offer variety. If it is true that we must offer equal education to all students, then we must offer different programs because students are different.

The recommendations that follow may seem repetitious and often overlap. They have been gathered by talking to reservation people and to Indians in education:

1. Funding from the BIA for Indian students must be streamlined and increased. Too often it is too little and too late.
2. The BIA should cooperate with Community Colleges and private schools by accepting more of their vocational courses for

funding.

3. Information regarding vocational education scholarships, grants, and fellowships should be made more readily available to Indian students.
4. More financial support must be provided for the existing Indian community colleges and for possible new ones.
5. Federal programs must recognize the need for specific monies to be allocated for Indian recruitment and counseling.
6. Development of an all Indian vocational-technical research and development section in the various U.S. Office of Education Regions to assist Indian communities in identifying vocational education needs, creating vocational education information centers and courses that are relevant to reservations' needs and in forming a vocational instructor pool.
7. There must be an Indian involved in the policy making of the National Vocational Education Advisory Council.
8. Courses must be provided on isolated reservations that will train people to preserve and develop the resources of their reservations. This would include natural resources, hand crafts and human resources.
9. Colleges should offer as part of their regular curricula courses of specific benefit to Indians (counseling for Indians, Indian crafts, teacher and health aide, as well as the vocational skills requested by the Indians of the nearby area.)
10. Workshops should be provided on or near reservations for

career and vocational-technical information.

11. Adult education classes, needed on all reservations, must be considered as part of career and prevocational training.

12. Indian people, and the general public, must cease to view vocational training "as a benign form of welfare" (Vine Deloria) and see it instead as one of the ways of achieving fulfillment.

Footnotes

1. Public Law 90-576, 90th Cong., H.R. 18366, Title I - Amendments to the Vocational Education Act of 1963, October 16, 1968.

2. What about Vocational Education? Washington State Coordinating Council for Occupational Education, Olympia, 1971.

3. Career Education-What it is and How to Do It, Hoyt, Kenneth B. and others, Olympus Publishing Company, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1971.

4. Special Subcommittee on Indian Education: A National Tragedy-A National Challenge, S. Res. 80 (91st Cong., 1st Sess.) Nov. 3, 1969 U.S. Government Printing Office.

5. Peterson, John L. and Cordove, Val, Technical Skills For American Indians, American Vocational Journal, Nov., 1972, pp 47-49.

6. Ibid.

7. Pace, Alfred L. III, Perspectives From an Historical and Educational Points of View, History 512 Paper, Washington State University, August 7, 1973.

8. "Construction Trades Program," The Native Nevadan, Official newspaper of the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, October-November, 1973. Vol. 9 No. 3, Page 11.

9. "Minorities Still Underrepresented", Saturday Review, Summer, June 1971, page 52-53.

10. Ridley, J. R. Ph.D., Discussion, Wash. ST. University Workshop for Administrators "Serving American Indian Education Needs Through Community Colleges." Spokane, 1973.

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THE NEED FOR CONSUMER EDUCATION AMONG INDIANS

by

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Introduction

In order to avoid needless repetition, this paper makes the following assumptions:

1) the reader has a working knowledge of the general field of consumer education;

2) there is no need to establish again the fact of Indian poverty by recitation of the dreary statistics of endemic economic depression and social disorganization;

3) the inadequacies of reservation public and federal school systems - particularly their aloofness from the Indian community are known or will be covered elsewhere in this series of position papers;

4) it is unnecessary to justify consumer education programs, particularly in communities where consumer income is severely limited and middle-class consumerism is inadequate or

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irrelevant to the needs of community;

5) the substantive difference of Indian cultures from American society of the present, not an artifact of the past.

I. Beyond the Culture of Poverty

Most consumer education in the United States is developed for the middle-class by the private sector - the press and private industry through advertising, for example. Until recently school curricula have devoted little attention to consumerism per se and the Extension Service represented virtually the only significant government program effort in the area.

With the discovery in the 1960's of the Culture of Poverty as an object of social attention came the realization that "the poor pay more" - that is, that the problems of the poor as consumers are quite different from those of the middle-class and special efforts are needed to equip them to use their limited resources wisely in the marketplace. The War on Poverty saw a raft of programs directed at the poor as consumers dealing with education, organization, and, in some cases, action.

A number of consumer education programs for Indians have been funded over the intervening years, but it is doubtful that the funding agencies have ever been given a full understanding of the scope and complexity of the task. Depsite apparent economic progress since the advent of OEO, Indian communities still represent the most dramatic concentrations of poverty in the United States. The difference in degree of poverty - often a factor of 4 or 5 - is so great that it constitutes a substantive difference from the

poverty of other groups or communities. For example, a 20% unemployment rate among an urban ghetto group is considered a national shame and a justification for massive economic assistance (and in some circles it is considered a justification for a "long hot summer"). An Indian tribe which has reduced its unemployment rate to 30% is considered by some to have solved its economic problems.

Thus while a great deal that is true of consumer education needs among the non-Indian poor is also true in Indian communities, knowledge of the differences is vital to the successful administration of consumer education programs.

We must try to set consumer education in the social and economic context of the average reservation. The examples used herein will not be true of every reservation community, but they will indicate representative problems faced by those Indian people on the reservations who are most in need of a consumer education program. Obviously Indian communities have to a greater or lesser extent a cultural difference from the American society as a whole. Beyond that, Indian reservation communities exist in a state of incredible geographic and social isolation. Because of their isolation - and other reasons traceable to historic federal Indian policies - Indian reservations do not enjoy the healthy economy and variety of economic opportunities upon which the American notion of competition is based. And finally Indian communities suffer from the non-enforcement of existing laws and non-use of existing regulatory authority. A government established monopoly is bad, but an unregulated one is worse.

The standard approach to consumer education is based upon the

economic situation of the average American consumer. He is usually employed or if unemployed it is only a temporary condition, but jobs are available in his vicinity. He is responsible for the support of his immediate family, and his wife may help out by working. He operates on a combined cash/credit basis having a choice of a wide range of competitive options. The principal task of a consumer education program is to teach him his legal rights and responsibilities as a consumer and to promote the basic concept of informed choice as the guiding principle of his career as a consumer. Basic law reform efforts have also been an important outgrowth of the consumer movement, but enforcement of existing laws can be seen as an equally important goal.

The average reservation Indian consumer is a different creature indeed. He is at best underemployed or seasonally employed, but just as likely he is unemployed. His wife may work while he sits at home and feels useless. He has little choice of stores and infrequently has cash to spend in them. He is largely dependent on enormously expensive credit, and the laws that protect others seem to work against him. He has difficulty speaking, reading and writing English. And finally, he is responsible for the support at various times of his grandmother, his father, his aunt and her children, and his brother's children in addition to his immediate family. All live with him in a three-room log house on the reservation.

II. Reservation Economy

A. Commercial and Credit Structure

The Traders. Any account of Indian economic problems must begin with the traders. From the earliest days of the fur trade the supplying of goods to the Indians has been a lucrative business. With the exception of a brief period of government-run "factories" in the early 19th century this trade has been carried out by private enterprise. In fact, the only federal power with respect to Indians mentioned in the Constitution is the congressional power to regulate commerce with Indian tribes. Congress has exercised broad regulatory powers in this area throughout history and even today a system of licensing traders on Indian reservations is still in force.

The trading post on an Indian reservation may be the focus of a rural community scattered throughout a wide area. It is often the only commercial establishment in the community - a combined grocery/hardware store and gas station and not infrequently the post office as well. The trader fills many roles: banker and loan company, pawn broker and arts and crafts dealer, information source for the community and for agencies and institutions outside the community. The trader may have the only telephone. His store is in many ways a neighborhood center. Information about jobs and other opportunities is available at the trading post.

Outsiders will use the trading post to communicate with or about community members. Outsiders invariably feel that the trader, usually a non-Indian, can communicate better with non-Indians seeking information than can community people themselves. He is thus a hiring agent for people seeking railroad workers, farm laborers, or firefighters. In the Southwest particularly the trader is the local

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agent for the Railroad Retirement Board. He is a ready source of information about "his" Indians for welfare agencies, law enforcement, and probation officers.

The trading post represents the sole local source of manufactured goods and many staple foods. Distances to town trading centers are often great. Roads are bad, particularly in winter, and reservation automobiles - when a family has access to one - are notoriously undependable. Thus for the most part the trader, licensed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has a monopoly in the Indian reservation community.

The rural reservation Indians are generally the poorest of the national Indian community, the least assimilated into the social and economic mainstream of the nation, and the most in need of consumer education. The trader relates to them much as the company store did to the miners of the 19th century. He knows which families receive checks and from what source and can extend credit to that limit and not beyond. As the postmaster, he knows when checks arrive. As the banker, he "cashes" the checks by getting the payee's signature or thumbprint, and as a creditor, he applies the check to the payee's account. Not infrequently if there is money left over he applies it to the payee's account in advance. The Indian often never sees a penny from his own check.

The traders also deal in pawn, usually in arts and crafts products produced by Indians. He establishes the value of the pawn and the interest rate but much pawn is "lost" when Indians are unable to repay their loans. In the summer when the tourists come the trader is able to sell them authentic Indian-made products at a

large markup. Detailed pawn regulations have been promulgated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs but they are rarely enforced.

In addition, the trader barters groceries for arts and crafts. In the winter, for example, when there is virtually no market for arts and crafts products, the trader may exchange a pair of beaded moccasins for groceries which he retails at $10-15 and for which he paid $5-7 wholesale. During the summer the same pair of moccasins can be sold to the tourists for $45-60.

Arts and crafts cooperatives and other Indian-controlled marketing programs have tried to break into the trader's monopoly at this point. They are usually underfinanced, however, and lack the capital to buy when the producers need to sell. In addition, they are often at a competitive disadvantage to the trader, who is located in the remote communities and is available around the clock to meet emergencies. The arts and crafts co-op is often located in the agency town, far from the producers. Like any bureaucracy it has certain office hours and often takes days to process checks when it does have money available.

Organization of a community to deal with trader abuses has been difficult. Efforts to combat the abuses of the trader in one of his roles are met with retaliation from the trader in his other roles. His control of the basic food supply, the mails, jobs and credit give him virtual dictatorial power in the community, which he can use selectively to undermine community leadership. He is particularly effective in coping with bureaucratic attacks in that he has the power and the resources to meet the emergency needs of community members while his bureaucratic adversaries move through

any given community like the wind. Most efforts to combat trader abuses have seen the trader only as a storekeeper who extends credit. By failing to see the trading post as a multi-purpose institution these efforts have been unable to anticipate the full economic and social power the trader can bring to bear in his own defense.

The tribes possess some power to tax and regulate the traders, although the scope of tribal power in light of the punitive federal regulation is unclear. Few tribes exercise such powers and little effort is being made nationally to determine the scope of this field of law.

Taxation of traders by the tribe would surely be passed on to the already overburdened Indian community - a most regressive tax. Tribes generally lack the technical resources to develop a comprehensive scheme of regulations which will keep the traders under control, and the cost of administration would be great. In addition, the tribes are not encouraged in this governmental role by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It must also be noted that the tribe's attorneys have been lax in advising their tribal clients in this area. The individual tribal council members are often as beholden to the traders as any other member of the community and fear reprisals if they take the lead in imposing tribal regulations.

The regulatory authority delegated by Congress to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs extends to regulating the quality and price of goods as well as credit and pawn practices. Unfortunately for the Indian community, this broad power reposing in the Bureau of Indian Affairs is rarely exercised beyond the granting of the

license to do business, and on many reservations the traders operate openly without even a license. The net effect of the trader system on Indian reservations is the establishment of a government - licensed, outsider (and non-Indian) - dominated, unregulated monopoly in the Indian community.

Border towns. While the traders have established themselves as community centers throughout the reservation to deal with the everyday needs of the Indian people, towns have sprung up just outside the boundaries of the reservation - outside the reach of tribal or federal jurisdiction and not subject to the regulations designed to protect the interests of the Indians. Border towns are notoriously hostile to Indians except on those infrequent occasions when the Indians have cash to spend. Border town merchants offer the same panoply of shoddy merchandise, deceptive sales practices, outrageous credit, and holder-in-due-course flim-flammery as their urban counterparts.

The fact that the reservations are under the jurisdiction of the tribe and the federal government while the border towns are under the jurisdiction of the state has both symbolic and legal significance. Although many tribes maintain their own court systems to the exclusion of the state courts, the border town merchants are characteristically oblivious to legal niceties, repossessing on the reservation without a thought of the illegality of their actions.

On the other hand, the off-reservation legal system is openly antagonistic to Indians. Few if any Indians serve as police officers or jurors and of course the judges and lawyers are part of the

small town power structure. As a result a vastly disproportionate number of Indians are arrested on a variety of charges, and many municipal services are routinely provided by the labor of Indian prisoners. The administration of justice is ruthless in its prosecution of Indians. In South Dakota, for example, where only about 5% of the state population is Indian, the Indian population of the youth "reform school" and the state penitentiary range from 45-60%. All of these are off-reservation convictions, since South Dakota is one of the states that lacks criminal jurisdiction over Indian reservations. Yet the prosecution for white-collar crimes - openly illegal credit and sales practices, for example - is nil.

Even crimes of violence against Indians are not fully prosecuted. The notorious Raymond Yellow Thunder case in Gordon, Nebraska and the Bad Heart Bull case in Custer County, South Dakota provide vivid examples. Both incidents touched off confrontations dramatized by the American Indian Movement.

Credit. The large low-income group on the reservation is mainly composed of the local Indian people. Normal credit resources are denied to this group partly due to their economic status and partly because of racial and class prejudice. As a result, an unofficial and unregulated credit structure has evolved over the years which enables them to secure needed food and basic consumer goods at an enormous cost. Although this credit structure is usually tied to the direct purchase of goods, many Indian people raise cash through the use of the same devices.

Where individual Indian land is leased by a farmer or rancher, many Indian people find it possible to obtain a cash advance from

their lessee to meet emergencies. This transaction is entirely unofficial and the interest rate is unregulated. The relationship between Indian lessor and non-Indian lessee is often a benign one, but it can be oversentimentalized and the paternalism overlooked, much as the relationship between master and slave in the Old South has often been oversentimentalized for various purposes.

In rural small towns the economy is tied very much to the fortunes of the farmers and ranchers. On Indian reservations, many of the farmers and ranchers are dependent on the leasing of Indian land, both tribal and individual. It is not, then, in the interest of the local economic and political power structure to assist local Indians to develop their own resources. The credit of local banks and financial institutions, as well as such locally-controlled resources as the Farmers' Home Administration, are systematically denied to the Indians. Thus the cheerful small loan to one's "landlord" is not a bad investment for a lessee to make.

Local merchants use a particularly ugly ad hoc device in many areas of the country. If an Indian seeks credit or a small loan at a retail establishment he is asked to sign a blank check on a bank in which the lender knows he has no account. At the option of the lender, then the check is filled out and cashed and the Indian borrower is prosecuted on a bad check charge. This device gives almost total control of the amount and time of repayment to the lender. Interest rates of up to 1000% have been used with this device and of course the Indian is liable to prosecution as long as the lender has the bogus check in his possession, even if the loan has been repaid many times over. This outrageous device is still in use in

areas where law enforcement agencies are more interested in being collection agencies for local storekeepers than in enforcing the laws regulating loan companies.

The laws of economics would suggest that credit for the poor will always be more expensive than credit for the rich or the middle-class. But the reservation credit structure just described offers a vicious and unregulated credit system for the poor Indian and an illegally closed credit system for the "middle-class" Indian trying to imporve his lot by using his own or tribal land. Hopefully some meaningful programs can be provided to make the equal protection of the law available on Indian reservations.

B. Income

Boom or Bust. To a large extent, the American economic system is based upon the assumption that consumers have a more or less regular income. Although the classic Indian economies have been destroyed, they have not been replaced by regular income sources. Instead, Indian people are still subject to wide variance in income.

On reservations subject to the Allotment Act, much of the individual trust land is leased to farmers and ranchers (most of whom are non-Indians). Payments of the rental to the individual Indian trust beneficiaries (or beneficial owners) is usually made on an annual or semi-annual basis. These payments may represent the entire family income for the year, and all of the lessors on the reservation are paid at the same time. For the most sophisticated non-Indian consumer, receiving the entire yearly income in one lump sum and spacing it throughout the year would present formidable problems. For an Indian person unskilled in the English language,

untutored in the marketplace and with extensive family responsibilities, the job is well-nigh impossible. The marketing practices of reservation traders and border town merchants are of course geared to take advantage of the fact that all leases are paid at the same time.

A few tribes make irregular per capita payments to tribal members from the profits derived from tribal enterprises or the use of tribal resources by corporations (oil and gas, coal mining, timber harvesting, etc.). These payments are monthly for some tribes, but usually less frequent, leading to another form of the boom-bust reservation economy.

The employment that does exist on reservations is often seasonal, based on the need for agricultural labor or the need for suitable weather. This leads to a modified boom-bust pattern with "steady" income available several months a year and no income at all for the other months.

Non-cash economy. A surprising proportion of the usual reservation economy is non-cash. For example, hunting and fishing, which are leisure time sports for the American middle-class, provide an important part of the basic food supply for many reservation families. Hunting and fishing are still an important part of the cultural life of the reservation, but the food that they yield is also of vital economic importance in the depressed reservation economy. The infrequent surplus which cannot be consumed or preserved can occasionally be bartered for essential foodstuffs which cannot be gained from the land.

The right to hunt and fish was specifically or by implication

reserved by the Indian tribes when treaties were signed with the United States or when other agreements were made leading up to the establishment of the reservations. These rights are of great economic as well as cultural importance, and they have a great effect on the allocation of Indian economic resources. Yet tribes and individual Indians have found it very difficult to exercise these rights and preserve the supply of fish and game upon which they depend. Society as a whole sees the fish and game resource as recreation and regulates it for that purpose. In the Indian community the supplying of food is an important supplement to the cash economic system. The Indian concept of the hunting and fishing resource seems destined to be misunderstood and may always encounter stiff opposition from all quarters of American society. Even though cash is not generally available to the Indians on a regular basis, the Indian cash substitutes fall victim to the non-enforcement of treaty and statutory rights.

Another important part of the barter and non-cash economy is the agricultural product produced by Indian families operating at or near the subsistence level. Sheep, goats, chickens, eggs, cattle, wild rice - all can be traded for goods with neighbors (often non-Indian neighbors who operate their own affairs on the standard American cash-credit basis) and for goods or credit with traders and local storekeepers.

But perhaps the most significant product for the barter economy in most areas is Indian arts and crafts, the product of skilled Indian hands. The sale or trade of arts and crafts products, despite years of effort to create a stable market and distribution

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system, still represents an income supplement which only briefly, if at all, puts the producer on a cash basis. As long as the trader monopoly continues, Indian benefits from the arts and crafts market will be severely discounted.

The existence of a significant barter system on many reservations serves to limit the choices and the fluidity of the individual Indian's economic resources. For a large proportion of his trading the Indian artisan deals only with those retail outlets which deal in barter. He may in fact have an outstanding account there based upon his future production of arts and crafts products. And it must be recognized that the proportion of artisans among the general Indian population is large.

Other non-wage/salary income. Because of the presistent underdevelopment of the reservation economy, an alarmingly high percentage of the total reservation income is based upon categorical federal programs, such as ADC, Old Age Assistance and aid to the blind and disabled. Pensions, disability payments and veterans benefits also occupy a high percentage and are frequently called upon to support entire families.

III. Indian Culture

It is stating the obvious to say that Indians raised in an Indian culture find it difficult to function as consumers in the caveat emptor capitalism of the United States. Language problems add to the difficulties ascribable to the lack of an Indian consumer and entrepreneurial traditon.

Perhaps the single most important cultural consideration which

sets the Indian consumer apart from the American average, apart from language, is the concept of the extended family. The social structure of most Indian cultures is still based to a large extent on kinship or clan organization, which are systems of interrelated responsibilities and duties owed by relatives or clan members to each other. The group to which one owes these responsibilities is much larger than the American nuclear family.

The extended family is rightly called the "Indian Social Security System". Responsibility for the care of the helpless - particularly children, the old, and women - falls upon the nearest relative with the means to do so. Due to the severe unemployment problem, the acute housing shortage and other social and economic problems, several nuclear families may share a single household, with fragments of several more mixed in. If one member of that extended family has resources, those resources are stretched to meet the needs of all members of the household.

The extended family concept was designed to work at its best when the economic fortunes of the tribe were felt communally. That is, the harvest for tribes with either hunting or agricultural economies came at about the same time for all members of the tribe and the entire society adjusted to the "boom or bust" economy: either everybody ate or everybody starved. There the extended family in economic terms was a highly efficient and fair system of allocation of community resources.

But the individualistic American socio-economic system superimposes a different kind of status - that of employment. A smaller share of community resources are allocated to each unemployed person

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under the American system regardless of the number of people he is responsible to support, and the status of employment is not open to all. In an Indian community where very few of the people have achieved the status of employment (or an alternative income-producing status) a paycheck, lease check, social security or veterans benefits check serves as a magnet attracting those who have none.

Budgeting is thus impossible. A single check which may be barely adequate to support an American nuclear family becomes a single "boom" event in the career of a large extended family and will likely be used to supply good food to all for a few days before all return to the usual substandard diet for the rest of the month. An attempt at budgeting or "wise buying" may be seen by the individual himself or other family members as a selfish act, withholding resources and denying one's kinship or clan responsibilities. For people with substandard diets, budgeting beyond a rough allocation among food (for a few days), clothes, gas and a few rudimentary car repairs is virtually impossible.

Indian culture itself, of course, is not the "problem". The problem is a severely depressed economy and a lack of information on the part of those who need it the most. Those Indian people who are the least acculturated are of course the ones for whom the need for consumer education is the greatest. They have the most severe economic problems, are usually the most isolated, both socially and geographically.

IV. Implications for Consumer Education Programs

Clearly there is a substantial need for consumer education

among all age groups and segments of the Indian community. Such programs must be undertaken within the context of the people who will expect to benefit from them. If the programs are based upon American middle-class social and economic patterns, they will be irrelevant to the needs of the Indian people by and large, particularly those whose need is the most acute. Budgeting and quality analysis techniques are of little use where there is no money to budget and no variety from which to select one's purchases.

Consumer education on an Indian reservation should ideally be a part of a comprehensive community economic development strategy. Because so much of the reservation commercial structure is superimposed from outside the reservation and the regulatory powers are presently beyond the grasp of the Indian community, reservation consumer education programs must deal in some measure with long-range organizational and systemic questions. Existing laws must be enforced, both on and off the reservation.

The reservation educational system, to the extent it is dominated by American middle-class curriculum and policy-making (including staff-level policy-making), may not be the appropriate delivery machanism for consumer education. Community and tribal organizations are probably more effective and appropriate since they are more likely to be responsive to community needs. The facilities and other resources of the local educational system may be useful if they can be made available, however.

A coordinated strategy and the maximum use of existing local programs and resources is to be desired. However, experience in Indian programs has shown that the single most important element is the involvement and support of the community. A community-developed

program which does not appear to the professional to have been adequately planned and coordinated may in the long run turn out to be the catalyst that is necessary for the subsequent creation of the other elements of a well organized and coordinated comprehensive program.

Many a well funded co-op or credit union has foundered because, although they were what the community "needed", the were not what the community wanted. Some of the few successful programs have been those which were designed by the community and appeared to the experts to be low priority, poorly designed and superficial - but they provided an essential spark to that particular community.

Epilogue: Non-reservation and Urban Indian Communities

This paper has focused on the economic problems of Federally recognized Indian reservation communities because economically, culturally and legally they provide the most dramatic differences from the standard consumer education concepts. Presently the off-reservation Indian communities are in the same legal situation as other poor people throughout the country. They may be just as poor as their on-reservation colleagues. In many areas they may have the same or similar dramatic cultural differences as their non-Indian neighbors. Most importantly, the need for community involvement is as great in off-reservation Indian communities as it is on the reservation. And the systematic deprivation of equal rights and opportunities is the same throughout "Indian country", Federal and non-Federal, urban and rural.

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TRAINING NEEDS OF INDIAN PARENT ADVISORY COMMITTEES

by

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Indian parents have for many years taken the responsibility of educating their children in what was important to them. They set as first priorities the traditions of their tribe and the legends and stories which included survival lessons. By informing their children of their varied cultural heritage Indian parents gave their children an understanding of themselves, a means for "self-identity" as Indians.

In 1969 Senate Subcommittee report entitled "Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge" said:

> From the first contact with the Indian, the school and the classroom have been a primary tool of assimilation. Education was the means whereby we emancipated the Indian child from his home, his parents, his extended family, and his cultural heritage. It was in effect an attempt to wash the 'savage habits' in the 'tribal ethic' out of the child's mind and substitute a white middle class value system in its place.

Senator Mondale's remarks on submitting the Indian Education (Title IV) bill to the Senate emphasized this failure:

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> For too long, the education of Indian Americans has been the imposition of White American Educational institutions upon American Indian Communities. Indians were expected to attend the schools controlled by non-Indians. There they learned that Indians were savages and the White men who killed them were heroes. They learned that everytime the calvary won it was an heroic feat, but everytime the Indians won it was a massacre. They were told their traditions were meaningless, archaic, and silly.

The Indian does not want that kind of "Indian Education". We want an education that will tell us the truth about our heritage and that will help create the reestablishment of our place in society--an education where Indian parents can again assume the leading role of educating their children.

In the Senate Subcommittee report the 58th recommendation was:

> That state and local communities should facilitate and encourage Indian community and parental involvement in the development and operation of public education programs for Indian children. The subcommittee especially noted a lack of participation, due to several causes, of Indians in education operations in the communities. In several localities, where a substantial number of Indian youngsters are attending public schools, Indian involvement in the operations of the schools attended by their children was practically or entirely nonexistent. Indians should be involved in state and local educational advisory groups, especially those established for Federal Programs.

After the Senate Subcommittee report was presented to the public, Johnson O'Malley and Title I Federal Regulations were revised to provide that each project must have a parent advisory council.

Accordingly, the key to Indian Parent Advisory Committees assuming a controlling voice and affecting the changes necessary to stop the gross misuse of Federal funds earmarked specifically to meet the special educational needs of Indian children, is through mechanisms and tools provided them through training.

The Johnson O'Malley Act

The Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934 is a Federal education program which is designed to benefit only Indian children. The law, as currently administered, is intended to provide Federal money to states to enable them to educate eligible Indian children in their public school system. All children of one-quarter or more Indian ancestry whose parents live on or near Indian reservations under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs are eligible for assistance. "There are 62,000 Indian students--over one fourth of the total estimated Indian school age population--in 20 states who received over $19.6 million in Johnson O'Malley Act funds in fiscal 1971." JOM is administered by the Bureau of Indians Affairs through contracts with state departments of education and some individual districts for the expenditure of JOM funds. Incorporated tribes and non-profit groups also are eligible, but the BIA rarely makes grants to such non-public entities. However, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, and the All Pueblo Council in New Mexico are presently contracting JOM funds for their respective states. Other states are in the process of doing the same, i.e. Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Negotiations for the BIA are handled by assistant Area Directors and a state plan is agreed upon which outlines the contractual obligations of the recipients and state policies regarding JOM expenditures.

The Federal regulations for Johnson O'Malley under (g) Community Participation specifically states "each contract shall provide for the establishment of a community education committee for the school districts affected. All the committee members will be elected by

Indian parents of eligible children participating in the project. At least three-quarters of the committee shall be composed of such Indian parents. The community education committee shall:

(1) Make an initial assessment of the needs of Indian children in the community.

(2) Make recommendations and participate in the planning, development, evaluation and monitoring of programs.

(3) Participate in contract negotiation sessions under this section.

(4) Hear complaints by Indian students and their parents.

(5) Meet regularly with the professional staff serving Indian children and with the local educational agency.

(6) Establish rules for conducting its office.

Funds under this part may be expended for conducting elections of community education committees and attendance at committee meetings. The Federal regulations under (h) Grievances--states, "...any student, parent of an Indian student, tribal representative, or community education committee in a community receiving aid under a contract under this part may complain in writing to the relevant contracting agency that the aid program is not being administered in accordance with the statute, regulations, or contracts relating to the program. If the contracting agency does not take action satisfactory to the complaining party or parties within thirty days, appeal may be taken to the commissioner of Indian Affairs who may take action which he deems appropriate."

E.S.E.A. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provides financial assistance to school districts where there are large numbers of children from poor families. Title I represents

the largest amount of Federal aid to education, and it is the first Federal Education Program to concentrate exclusively on the needs of poor children.

Financial Assistance is provided to school systems which have high concentrations of low-income children residing within the district. Approximately 16,000 out of a total of 26,983 school districts in the nation receive Title I money. In FY 1972, Title I provided $1.4 billion for supplementary assistance to disadvantaged pupils in elementary and secondary schools.

Title I is the first and most significant Federal aid program recognizing that economically and educationally deprived school children need compensatory educational services in order to perform well in school. As applied to Indian children, this means that Title I Funds are to be spent on a supplemental program designed to meet their special and unique needs.

Children of families with incomes less than $3,000.00 including welfare payments who are "educationally disadvantaged" are eligible to receive Title I benefits. "Educationally disadvantaged" usually means behind in grade level or not reaching the Educational level appropriate for a child's age.

Virtually all Indian children qualify for Title I assistance. National statistics indicate that Indian children often fall well below the minimum definitions of economic and education deprivation:

1. The average income of an Indian family is $1,500.00, 75% below the national average.

2. The unemployment rate among Indians is nearly 40%, nearly seven times the national average.

3. The average achievement levels of Indian children are two

to three years below those of White children.

4. School dropout rates of Indian students are twice the national average.

5. Indian children, more than any other group, believe themselves to be below average in intelligence. These statistics clearly indicate that Indian children are entitled to receive supplemental education services under Title I.

Title I has not, in most instances, provided the benefits and opportunities for better education that had been expected when the legislation was passed in 1963. Title I was implemented on a crash basis and in the first few years school districts had few guidelines on how to spend the money. Most school districts spent Title I funds any way they wished without regard to the needs of poor children. Some simply supplemented their school budgets instead of initiating supplementary programs designed to meet the special educational needs of their eligible children. Federal regulations for the involvement of poor parents in Title I programs have gradually been developed since the act was passed but these regulations have been ignored or violated in most school systems.

Federal regulations now require that each school district that receives Title I funds must have a Title I Parent Council. This new rule is a big improvement over past Federal policy which only recommended that parent committees be established.

Federal regulations now provide that:

1. Each member of the Parent Council must be furnished free copies of the Title I law, regulations, guidelines, local project application, and other information which will aid in the planning, development, operation, and evaluation of the Title I program.

2. The Parent Council must be given "an adequate opportunity" to consider the information available and to make recommendations concerning the needs of poor children and the types of programs that will be operated to meet those needs.

3. The Parent Council must be able to look at prior evaluations of the Title I Program.

4. The Parent Council has the right to submit comments on the proposed Title I program to the State Title I office. The State Title I officials have an obligation to consider the views of the Parent Council in deciding whether to approve all or part of the district's application for funds.

5. That the Title I program in each project area includes specific provisions for informing and consulting with parents concerning the services to be provided for their children under Title I of the Act and the ways in which such parents can assist their children in realizing the benefits those services are intended to provide.

6. That the local educational agency has adequate procedures to ensure prompt response to complaints and suggestions from parents and parent council.

Though report after report has uncovered a continued gross misuse of Title I funds, especially those meant for Indian children, there is still a chance for change so that Indian children are assured of their Title I entitlement. It may well come through Indian parental involvement providing Indian Title I parent committees receive the proper training needed to function in their committees and understand their rights as Committee members. Parent participation in Title I--which carries with it the responsibility of

determining how this money should be spent--is one way that Indian parents can intervene in the existing educational structure to make education work for their children, and not for the school bureaucracy.

Title IV of Public Law 92-318 (The Indian Education Act)

The special Senate Subcommittee report entitled "Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge" recommended a number of legislative measures to raise Indian Education to an exemplary level. The primary recommendation in the report was that Congress be presented with a comprehensive Indian Education Act to meet the special education needs of Indians in both the Federal schools and in the public schools. After a number of revisions, S. 659 was submitted to the President June 12, 1972 for signature and went into effect as Public Law 92-318, June 23, 1972.

Title IV, Part A, of P.L. 92-318 adds a new program to P.L. 874 (Impact Aid) which instructs the Commissioner of Education to carry out a program of financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out elementary and secondary school programs specifically designed to meet the special education needs of Indian children. Grants may be used for the planning, development, establishment, maintenance and operation of programs.

This program provided for an entitlement to the local educational agency (LEA) in the amount of the full average per pupil expenditure for the state times the number of Indian children enrolled. A LEA is eligible if it has at least ten (10) Indian children enrolled, or if such children constitute 50 percent of the enrollment. This requirement does not apply to the State of Alaska, California, or

Oklahoma, or to any LEA located on or near an Indian reservation.

Relative to parent advisory committees, written into the law under (b) states, "(b) An application by a local educational agency or agencies for grant under this title may be approved only if it is consistent with the application provisions of this title and-

"(1) meets the requirements set forth in subsection (a);
"(2) provides that the program or project for which application is made-

"(A) will utilize the best available talents and resources (including persons from the Indian community) and will substantially increase the Educational opportunities of Indian children in the area to be served by the applicant; and

:(B) has been developed-
"(i) in open consultation with parents of Indian children, teachers, and, where applicable, secondary school students including public hearings at which such persons have had a full opportunity to understand the program for which assistance is being sought and to offer recommendations thereon, and
"(ii) with the participation and approval of a committee composed of, and selected by, parents of children participating in the program for which assistance is sought, teachers, and where applicable, secondary school students of which at least half the members shall be such parents;
"(C) sets forth such policies and procedures as will insure that the program for which assistance is sought will be operated and evaluated in consultation with, and the involvement of, parents of the children and representatives of the area to be served, including the committee established for the purposes of clause (2) (B) (ii).

The Rules and Regulations further states under 187.7 community participation,

Applications under 187.5 (a) and (b) must describe the manner in which parents of the Indian children to be served and tribal communities: (a) were consulted and involved in the planning and development of the project; and (b) will be actively participating in the further planning, development, operation and evaluation of the project.

Title IV is the only Legislative Act that stresses in both the law itself and the Rules and Regulations that active parent participation must be a part of the total proposal before the proposal will

be considered for funding.

However, if the parent committees are not knowledeable about the nature and extent of their participation LEA Administrators or teachers on the local committee could very easily impose a proposal developed beforehand, (without parents of Indian children participation), and describe parent participation in such a way that the proposal will appear to have complied with the law. It is therefore very important that this information be made available to Indian communities and this is an area that the field operations component of the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards has concentrated on very heavily.

We have made contact with reservation, non-reservation, and rural parent advisory committees representing Johnson O'Malley, Title I, and Part A of Title IV, P.L. 92-318. We have provided them with information on a variety of subjects relating to their rights and responsibilities under these laws.

There are a number of ways by which Parent Advisory Committees are elected (appointed) and they are (1) committees selected by the Tribal Council, (2) committees selected by the Tribal Chairman or Governor (Pueblos), (3) committees selected by a formal parents caucus, (4) committees selected by the school superintendent or school board, (5) committees chosen by themselves, (6) committees selected by an informal caucus of Indian parents, (7) if only six persons attend the organizational meeting they become the Parent Advisory Committee, (8) committees chosen through a formal electoral process, (9) committees chosen through an informal electoral process (all those interested in voting for the committee were invited to one particular meeting, and all Tribal members were allowed to

vote). and (10) Phantom Education committees (The school lists parents as members of a committee when applying for funds, but no one on the committee is aware of membership). I point this out because the composition of these committees is very important. There should be at least 2/3 Indian parents represented on the committee, and this would give them the decision making power they need to be effective since they would have a controlling voice within the committee.

Training Needs of Indian Parent Advisory Committees

In most cases, the Parent Advisory Committees understand that Johnson O'Malley, Title I, and Title IV are specifically earmarked to meet the special educational needs of Indian students in their particular schools. They are aware that as Parent Advisory Committees they are supposed to have some input in setting priorities on what types of programs will be implemented utilizing these funds. They question what they can do to initiate input. One of their biggest problems is that they are elected or appointed to serve as Parent Advisory Committees without any prior understanding of their role as parent advisory committees. They fail to understand what their rights are, what kinds of information they should have access to, and how can they organize to become effective. We have utilized several different methods in out training endeavors. We have used small group workshops in a formal manner with an agenda, etc. We have held community meetings where the field trainer (specialist) speaks to the assembled group using a microphone or standing on the podium in front of the audience. We have also used a very informal

manner where the field trainer goes into the parent's homes and talks to small groups on a one to one basis. We have found the one to one basis to be the most effective. More feedback is obtained from the groups and more questions are asked when parents do not understand some of the information that is being discussed. We feel even though it may take longer (four days for small groups instead of one workshop day in a community), we are accomplishing much more in this manner.

The training needs have varied from community to community. In most instances, we have had to begin our training sessions by discussing the laws (J.O.M., Title I, etc.) themselves. We have given the parents a presentation on the history of the law and the content of specific sections as they pertain to Indian children. Secondly, we have spent a lot of time going over the rules and regulations, outlining what parent advisory committees should be involved in and what they have a legal right to know concerning the operation of the program and any expenditure of funds under the program.

In some of the schools, we've had to sensitize the administrators and non-Indian school boards concerning the rights of parent committees regarding the use of Johnson O'Malley, Title I, etc., funds. For example, the Hannahville Pottowatomi Parent Committee in a small public school in Michigan wanted a bi-cultural project started utilizing Johnson O'Malley funds. They were concerned because they had been assimilated to the point where they had no native language any longer nor did they have any tribal customs for their generation to pass on. Yet their children felt stereotyped as Indians and subjected to paternalistic attitudes in the

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small, predominantly White, school. As a consequence the attrition rate of their students, even before reaching the eighth grade, was extremely high. The program they developed through Johnson O'Malley funds is being taught in the school as an elective course open to both Indian and White children. Reports have indicated that there is a better understanding of the Indian children in the school system.

Another example comes to mind. There are 1,300 Indian students attending school in the Rapid City, South Dakota public school system, and there was only one Indian parent on the school board that governed the total school system. Last Spring, in May, an Indian parent group was organized under Part A of P.L. 92-318. They were organized as a non-profit educational corporation under the state. They drew up articles of incorporation and by-laws and became a recognized non-profit educational organization (corporation). They were able to get the types of programs they felt their children needed, funded under Part A of P.L. 92-318. The district school board accepted their proposal and it was submitted and funded.

These examples show that if parents are kept apprised of the meaning of legislation that affects their children, they can be kept involved and a part of the total program from the beginning, which is very important if they are to be an effective parent advisory committee.

The Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards has grown from five charter members in the Fall of 1971 to its present membership of 140. This growth clearly indicates that Indian parents are concerned about the education of their children and are looking to find ways to improve the present "Indian" educational system. We

have made a lot of community contacts, but there are still many parents that need to know how they can improve upon and be a part of the present educational system. The President of the Executive Board of the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards calls the organization a mutual self-help organization. Thus when a parent committee is trained we have that many more "expert" consultants to draw upon to help train other committees. One of our present field trainers is a past chairman of an Indian controlled public school, and his array of knowledge can't be found in any book, since he learned the better share of his expertise through experience.

Some recommendations that I feel would help parent advisory committees to function more effectively are: (1) That a state wide organization of parent advisory committees be established. There is so much that they can share with each other through organized meetings and contacts. (2) That this state-wide parent advisory committee develop (with the help of other experts) the state plan for Johnson O'Malley funds. and (3) That this state-wide committee develop a handbook that would cover thoroughly all legislation specifically designed to provide funds for programs for Indian children, including rules and regulations for the legislation.

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TRAINING NEEDS OF INDIAN PARENT ADVISORY COMMITTEES

by

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Colville Tribe

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Introductory Comments

As early as 1774 when Indian chiefs negotiated for future educational programs in treaties made with the Federal government officials, it was not without an appreciation of their own traditional educational processes, and a knowledge of the differences that would emerge in the philosophy and educational practices between the two cultures.

An Iroquois spokesman,[1] Canassatego, in response to an offer of an educational program made by the Virginia Legislature to the Six Nations reflected this awareness:

> We know you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in these Colleges, and the maintenance of our young Men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us Good by your Proposal; and we thank you heartily. But you who are so wise must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things; and you will not therefore take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of Education happens not to be the same with yours. We have had some experiences of it. Several of our young People were formerly brought up in the Colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were

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> instructed in all your Sciences; but when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods, unable to bear either Cold or Hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged for your kind offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia shall send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take great care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them.

Institutional beliefs and policies that existed in earliest America still prevail in today's educational setting. The charter of Harvard College[2] stated the purpose of the institution to be the "education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge," and Dartmouth's charter declared its purpose to be "the education and instruction of youth of Indian tribes of this land in reading, writing, and all parts of learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing and Christianizing children of pagans, as in all liberal arts and sciences, and also of English youth and any others."

The earliest record of "Indian controlled" schools began with the Cherokees. They, like other Indians, valued knowledge and knew that education was necessary if they were to survive in their new situation. The Cherokees built their own school system, controlled it themselves and supported it with their own tribal funds. Sequoya developed the Cherokee alphabet which played a crucial role in their educational system.

By 1852 the Cherokees has a flourishing school system of 21 schools, 2 academies, and an enrollment of 1,100. This successful effort by the Cherokees was soon followed by the Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles who established their own school systems.

Following the Civil War, there developed a great concern for the welfare of the Indians, and the Federal government began to assume a

larger role in their education. A committee of the Congress published a report in 1864 revealing the deplorable status of the Indian, and the humanitarians began immediately to call for reform. They grossly misunderstood both Indian culture and the nature of Indian problems and their program called for education, Christianization, and civilization. The two major consequences of this reform movement were (1) increased responsibility for education, by the Federal government. (2) The off-reservation boarding schools.

With the emerging assumption of Federal responsibility for Indian education, then current European philosophy dictated how "Education" would be defined in contrast to the Indians' understanding of the term, thereby creating a misunderstanding of the nature of education on the part of both parties that continues to this day.

The boarding school era began in 1879 when the first off-reservation boarding school was established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. In 1882 legislation was passed to convert abandoned army posts into Indian schools. In 1890 appropriations were made to cover costs of tuition for Indians attending public schools, and in 1917 all subsidies to religious groups which had formerly received Federal funds to operate schools for Indians were ended.[3] The off-reservation boarding school dominated the Federal approach to Indian education for 50 years. Its philosophy included the removal of the students from their homes, often forcibly, strict military discipline, a work and study program, an "outing system", and emphasis upon industrial arts.

Meriam[4] in his famous Report of 1928 cited the real tragedy of the boarding school as "the disruption of family life and its effect on the character of both parents and children." The most shocking effect of Meriam's report--which was written 45 years ago--was the

lack of awareness and action on the part of administrators who had access to the study during the succeeding period of nearly a half century in carrying out its recommendations.

Meriam maintained, that the most fundamental need in Indian education was a change in the point of view adopted by educators. He stated that the Indian educaticnal enterprise was peculiarly in need of the kind of approach that recognized the natural setting of home and family life as an essential part of educating the Indians. It was pointed out that the "atomsphere and conditions" of the home are, especially in the early days of the child's life, the "primary determinant" in the development of the child. Since the "parents" determine these "conditions" and create that "atomsphere", it is the "parents" who are the most important factors in the lives of children!

Many present-day leaders in education were themselves the victims of the "boarding school era." They were taken involuntarily away from family and tribe, forbidden to speak their native tongue and forced to live in a boarding school in an alien setting far from home. During this traumatic and critical period in their lives they were expected to acquire an education. Their parents were never consulted on the type of education they wanted for their children, but were ordered to send them away to school. They only knew that their children were supposed to be learning to read and write English. Parents had no voice in their children's education not even informed about the curriculum offered in the boarding schools. All they could look forward to was the day when their children would return home again. Sadly those who returned were no longer children, they were strangers to their own culture not accepting nor accepted by the White man's world for which they were educated.

In 1934 the Johnson O'Malley Act[5] was passed by Congress (and amended in 1936) authorizing the Bureau of Indian Affairs to provide educational and health services through contracts with state and private institutions for Indians on reservations. Many states passed legislation in the early 1930's to assume the responsibility of providing education to Indian children who were citizens and residents of that state. Johnson O'Malley education funds were contracted to approximately 26 states who had assumed a responsibility for the large number of Indian children enrolled in the public school system.

State public school systems are financed primarily by local property taxes. Title to most Indian lands, including reservations and allotments, is held in trust by the United States Government for the Indian tribe and the individual Indian having a trust allotment and is not subject to local property taxes. Accordingly, the education of large numbers of Indian children placed a financial burden on the state school systems, unless this burden was alleviated by financial assistance programs from Johnson O'Malley or later, the Impact Aid (P.L. 81-874 and 815) funds.

Brophy and Aberle writing of Indian education 1966[6] stated that the majority of Indian pupils are either above the general age level for their respective classes or are below academic norms. They tend to dropout of school more frequently than do their non-Indian classmates. They suggest that one solution to the problem is to find and apply a method of teaching Indian children and to develop the kind of school environment most conducive to the progress of the non-English speaking Indian. They state further that if education is to be improved for Indian pupils, the support of the Indian community, its neighbors, and tribal as well as local government officials should

be enlisted to these ends.

Since the establishment of the first boarding school, report after report and study after study conducted by agencies, organizations, and individual scholars pointed out the failures and inadequacies of educational programs for Indian students. Yet among all the recommendations directing Federal or state school systems to enlist the help of parents of Indian pupils to assist in developing relevant programs to meet their children's needs. Emphasis always appeared to reflect the "we know best" attitudes of educators about what should be done and how it should be done to provide Indian students with a better educational opportunity. Such negative attitudes stem from a dominant ethnocentric cultural conditioning of superiority that tends to reinforce a belief that Indian parents are incapable of offering knowledgeable or useful ideas on new educational programs that might be initiated for Indian children. Educators believe that such specialized programs would require too high a degree of professional expertise for Indian lay-people to help implement. In spite of a long history of shameful failures in educating Indians, these negative attitudes continue to predominate.

Indian parents of school age children are today excluded from the formal educational process in urban as well as rural schools on and near reservations. School staffs are equally out of touch with the Indian parents and the local Parent Teacher Associations have few if any Indian parents as members because the Indian parents are made to feel "out of place" in this kind of organization. With a growing number of Indian children enrolling in the public school systems, the number of Indian parents who serve on school boards has not increased appreciably in a proportionate ratio. An exception to this situation

are those few cases where Indian tribes have assumed full responsibility for the operation of schools under contracts with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and have established All-Indian School Boards.

The policy of "civilizing and Christianizing children of pagans" is so institutionalized that only the terminology has changed. Today the effort is to "assimilate and acculturate" Indian children. Well-meaning non-Indian educators believe that this is the only desirable goal. The fact that Indian students have the highest dropout rates of any group in the nation and an abnormally high suicide ratio has failed to impress upon educators the fact that the programmed goal of forced assimilation and acculturation is the source of the serious emotional and psychological stress these children experience during their elementary and secondary school years.

Parent Advisory Councils

The first significant move toward drawing parents into a contributing role in the school programs came with the enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965.[7] Title I of this Act made funds available to school districts having a large enrollment of economically disadvantaged pupils for special programs designed to compensate for their disadvantagement. Parents of these students were required to comprise at least fifty percent of the Title I Advisory Committee. Teachers, community leaders, and a few students usually make up the balance of the Committee.

Title I Advisory Committees have enjoyed only a minimum degree of effectiveness on program operations since their inception. They are often accused of being a "rubber stamp" committee approving any program the school administration submits for Title I funding. If

there is any truth in these kinds of charges, the fault must be placed with the school officials because they have not provided the necessary preparation of the lay-people on the committees to deal knowledgeably with the functions of educational programs.

Many state supervisors of Title I programs have recognized the need for parent members of advisory committees to acquire basic skills in working with Federally funded ESEA programs. Statewide workshops have been conducted with follow-up local workshops that have dealt with such subjects as writing behavioral objectives, identifying needs of Title I children, and evaluating processes of educational goals.

In 1970, Johnson O'Malley state contractors with school districts requested that Indian parent advisory committees be formed to function in a similar capacity as the Title I Advisory Committees. As the attempt was undertaken to make JOM committees operational, problems of a different nature arose that were previously unrecognized and not experienced in the Title I situation. There was a strong reluctance by school administrators in JOM funded schools to admit that deeply entrenched hostilities relating to cultural and race differences existed between the Indian and non-Indian members of the communities. This failure to recognize existing prejudices had a detrimental effect on Indian parent participation efforts.

Title I committee efforts differed from JOM school district efforts in that Title I was concerned essentially with the economically disadvantaged. Title I's orientation did not pose a threat from a specific racial group even though the geographic areas represented by both programs were essentially the same. Title I programs were implemented in almost all schools in the states while Johnson O'Malley programs could only be established in schools located on or near an

Indian reservation having a sizeable enrollment of Indian children. Urban schools under Title I tended to be more impersonal because of the larger numbers of students that had to be accommodated while rural schools were subject to much more personal attention from the community leaders. Thus, while racial attitudes may not have had much impact upon the urban school programs, but they would be easily identified as a compelling factor in rural school situations where Indian parents had historically remained incognito.

The involvement of Indian people that is required in Title IV, Public Law 92-318, could mean that these new programs will inherit all the existing frustrations of the JOM parent committee situations and perhaps even more frustration if a thoughtful and considerate approach is not used in forming the parent committee. The challenge of moving forward constructively with programs involving Indian parents in every phase of the planning, operating, and evaluating of the school program could be overwhelming in communities already having experienced difficulties under previous programs or in instances where a program is being implemented for the first time.

In the large populated urban areas, the residence patterns of American Indians presents a scattered picture. Indian children are in attendance in almost every school in districts with a heavy concentration of low income people, primarily in depressed areas of the cities. With the broad definition of an "Indian" under Title IV, the numbers of identified eligible Indian children will be doubled or even tripled as the program progresses each year.

An example of the current enrollment patterns of Indian children is reflected in the Washington State ethnic count of 1970. The report shows that over 12,000 Indian pupils attend 1,600 schools in the state

with high concentrations in schools on and near Indian communities, reservations, and in the major cities. In the rural districts, on or near reservations, Indian students often comprise from 10 to 90% of the total school enrollment.

Problem Areas to Consider

What are the problems we should anticipate as the Parent Advisory Councils are formed in the urban school district? Experience in working with Parent Councils or Committees in the school systems points to the need to consider the following concerns:

1. There is usually no one school that serves all Indian children in the district because parents reside all over the city.
2. A high percentage of Indian parents have a low or marginal income and often cannot attend meetings across town for purely economic reasons.
3. Participation in Parent Councils must be preceded by a genuine out-reach effort of school officials to convince Indian parents that they are welcome and even more, that their participation is essential to Title IV program efforts.
4. The fact that Indian people have been "outsiders" in relation to the institution of the school all of their lives, that only their love and concern for their children's academic success would motivate them to actively participate on Parent Advisory Councils.
5. School personnel must demonstrate a willingness to work on an equal basis with Indian parents in the preparation of program proposals, their implementation and evaluation.
6. Good communication is frequently lacking between educators and parents. An understanding of each other's goals for the Indian

child is basic to the development of a constructive relationship.

7. Indian people residing in urban areas are often divided into very factional groupings which range from very conservative beliefs and practices to beliefs and practices which often trigger aggressively militant actions that create discord and adversely affect any organizational efforts toward a common goal.

Suggested Content For Training Programs

In spite of all efforts put forth to encourage an active Parent Council, it can be expected that only a small percent of Indian parents will actually participate on a regular basis.

It will be vitally important that Title IV program regulations be clearly and repeatedly explained to Indian parents at the outset. Unless these regulations are adequately explained both students and parents may express resentment when special programs have been implemented that are designed to serve only Indian students. They may feel that the programs are discriminatory since they appear to single them out from their non-Indian peers.

Title IV personnel in the United States Office of Education must impress upon program grantees the value of setting long range goals into which the short, one or two-year goals would operate in sequential steps to meet the major goals. The whole design should be understood by the Indian parents so that they can see how their participation can help their children.

In the urban locations, training of the participants should be given highest priority in the initial phases since parents will need orientation in such basic school functions as "what happens in the classroom", how the curriculum is developed, who selects library

books and other resource materials and who is designated in the school building to be responsible for various other duties.

In addition to the basic school functions, training programs must include how schools are supported financially, what are the laws and regulations that are required for school operations, and what are the duties and authority of the administrator and the school board. The special relationship of the Indian student to the school in relation to the special funds should be particularly emphasized.

A valuable training session should include a session on the art of teaching in relation to the learning and growth processes of children. Indian parents could make an important contribution in this area by providing to the non-Indian more knowledge of child-rearing practices in Indian culture. They also need to understand how the non-Indian views child-rearing practices.

Training programs for Indian parent councils would only meet half of the training needs regardless of how successfully they are conducted. School staff must also undergo training in concert with Indian parents in order to produce harmonious teamwork for greater accomplishment of the Title IV programs.

Rural Indian Parent Committee Training Needs

In many ways, Indian parents in the rural school districts are far ahead of their urban brothers. Johnson O'Malley Parent Committees have already undergone their initial organizational pains. Tribal councils have long established education committees who are very knowledgeable about Indian educational problems and processes. Emphasis on training, therefore, should be directed toward initiating inservice training programs for school personnel and strengthening

such programs where they are already in existence.

A major problem that rural schools suffer is an excessively high turnover of teaching and administrative personnel. Programs in training should be designed to offer greater incentives for these educators to remain in the district. One way to solve the problem of personnel stability is to get parents and educators to see themselves as a community.

Another problem to be considered by training planners in and near Indian communities is that sometimes there are deeply ingrained hostilities between the Indian and non-Indian residents. Such hostilities have been the result of misunderstandings and injustices occurring over a long span of time. Although this hostility exists, and in many instances both Indians and non-Indians vehemently deny its presence, both groups may continue to practice discriminatory and prejudicial treatment of the "other." While Indians have most often been the victims, many non-Indians, failing to understand the special relationship of the Federal government to Indians may feel that they have suffered discrimination.

The task of developing relevant training programs for both urban and rural Indian parents is monumental. Once started, however, it represents the beginning of the building of a bridge of understanding and acceptance between two cultures.

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HEALTH EDUCATION

by

Eunice Larrabee

Cheyenne River Sioux

Lantry, South Dakota

I view the world through the eyes of a Minneconjou woman. I have lived on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation in South Dakota most of my life. I am convinced that there was in innate wisdom in the values of our traditional Lakota people in the way that they approached the world. I believe that this wisdom is valuable today for health education.

Herbal medicine is widely used by our people today. Modern medicine owes a great debt to the aboriginal people of this land who knew about the healing properties of hundreds of herbs, plants, and roots and shared much of this knowledge over the last few centuries. Yet modern medicine still seems to be reluctant to understand the basis of the Indian use of herbs and other medicines. The Indian use was based upon the belief that mental health and the health of the body are inseparable. I believe that this is an

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aspect of health education that still needs to be emphasized. Let me illustrate.

My sister, a Registered Nurse, and I have long been interested in the medicinal value of the local roots and herbs. We have gathered about three dozen specimens over the years. Once I happened to pluck an entire plant including the root. Soon a rash developed on my right hand and then on my left hand. The rash began to spread toward my elbows. I went to the Indian Health Service hospital for treatment and I was given an ointment that had no effect on the intense itching and the rash continued to spread. Altogether four different doctors prescribed different medications for my rash, all to no avail.

The rash grew worse and after blood poisoning developed I began to fear that I would lose my hands and I asked to be sent to a dermatologist in Rapid City. I ended up staying in the hospital for about 18 days before the condition was cured.

The interesting thing about this episode is that some respected elders, wise in the folk medicine of our people, told me that this misfortune had befallen me because I failed to put tobacco in the hole that I had made when I pulled the plant out. I had failed in this particular situation to observe the ritual that is intrinsic to all of our life ways--all of life is a sacred circle, all of life should be kept in harmony and balance. From that time on I always take a bag of tabacco along when I go out to gather herbs. I have not had any rashes since because of my bag of tobacco. People may say that this is an Indian superstition, but remember, four different doctors could not diagnose or cure or prevent my rash. At least the elders have given me an explanation of it--and a means

of preventing it.

I know today that Indian people realize that modern medicine will cure the modern diseases that were brought to our Indians. When they suspect they have diabetes they will willingly go to the hospital and get medication for their diabetes. We did not use to have diabetes in the old days and so I think it is one of the modern diseases that we have been given. I have a theory about diabetes I would like to share with you. Back in 1877 when the Indians were forced to move on the reservation they were told that the government would take care of them and would provide food.

The government gave them flour, beans, white rice, coffee, and white sugar. These kinds of foods replaced the high protein and the natural organic indigenous foods that they had been use to having. The Indians lived on this new kind of processed foods diet with some occasional beef. They lived this way for years until the program of surplus commodities was begun. These foods are the same kind of high carbohydrate, high fat foods that they were giving the Indians back in the early reservation years so another generation has grown up eating this kind of low nutritional food.

I believe this high carbohydrate diet has caused the cells in the body to be overworked and to malfunction. As a result, diabetes is now very prevalent among our people. I know that the tendency to suffer from diabetes is hereditary but I feel that the historical force-feeding of nonorganic and depleted high carbohydrate foods has led to the high incidence of diabetes among our Indian people. We have had to eat this food for enough generations that diabetes is becoming a hereditary disease among us for the first time in the life of our tribes.

So I must conclude that our old ways must be respected. We must retain the knowledge we have about the herbs and medicines and we must retain as much of our old beliefs as possible. But we must also understand that some of our diseases, especially the modern diseases that we now have that we did not have in the past, can be traceable to the changing of our diet and our old ways. In health education we must find ways to combine the knowledge and experiences of both the old and new ways of life.

In September of 1953 the incidence of TB among the Sioux Indian people was running rampant. Only 4% of the population in South Dakota were Sioux Indians, but 57% of the deaths from TB in that state were of the Cheyenne River Reservation and the Tribal Chairman, Frank Ducheneaux, planned a meeting or workshop to inform and educate the "grass-roots" population about this disease called "tuberculois"--cha ku shicha (Sioux translation--bad lungs).

The various organizations involved with health and responsible for the health needs of Indians were invited to meet together and plan a strategy to get this disease under control. War was declared on the disease--TB. The following organizations were invited to the meeting:

Bureau of Indian Affairs--Cheyenne River Reservation

Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Council

South Dakota Department of Health

South Dakota Tuberculosis Association

Sioux Sanatorium, Rapid City, South Dakota

The organizations agreed that something had to be done about the situation. They all agreed to help. Many things began to happen after this meeting. Coordination and communication was established

among the organizations so that they would know what each other was doing to help. A Tribal Law and Order Code was adopted and enforced by the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Council dealing with the disease:

> The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Council shall have authority to order and compel the medical examination and treatment of any person found to be afflicted with a communicable disease.

In order to make this tribal ordinance effective, different resources were used. For people who could not or would not come to the hospital for X-rays, mobile X-ray units began taking this service to the grass-roots communities on the reservations. Welfare assistance was given to the families of hospitalized patients so that they would not worry about their families if they accepted treatment. Communications were sent to all organizations regarding any patients who were AWOL (absent without leave) or who had left the hospital against medical advice (AMA). Mrs. Phoebe Downing was selected as Coordinator of this pilot project on Cheyenne River.

As the program developed the grass-roots delegates from each of the 13 districts on the reservation were hosted by the South Dakota TB Association at a workshop in Rapid City. They went on a tour of the Sioux Sanatorium which had been established years before in the Black Hills to take care of the Sioux people who fell victims to TB. Discussion groups were formed to plan a program for educating the community people about TB and the preventive measures which might be needed. Plans were made to have a Community Leaders Workshop on TB and Health at Cheyenne River Agency headquarters.

The South Dakota Vocational Rehabilitation Department and the South Dakota Welfare Department joined the Organization. The delegates spent five days in group discussions, films, and role playing.

There were three questions that each group had to consider:

1. What is TB?
2. How do we get TB?
3. How can we control TB?

At the end of the Workshop, graduation certificates of merit were presented to the delegates.

As word of our progress at Cheyenne River got around, others got interested in health education. Mr. Charles Little Hawk from Pine Ridge hitchhiked to the Workshop because he heard about what was happening on Cheyenne River and he wanted to help his people who had the dreaded disease - TB. Another visitor to the Workshop was Mrs. Irene Gronau, from Sisseton, she too heard about this Workshop and wanted to learn so she could return to her people and help the patients.

The workshops over the years have been planned and run by the Indians themselves. The lectures have been geared to the educational level of the members and topic presented are discussed in understandable language, not in medical jargon. Opportunities for questions are allowed after each presentation. At the first workshops, microscopes were set up so the participants could see the "TB germ." Sputum cultures were explained by Indian employees. The adage "seeing is believing" was utilized at every opportunity.

At the December 1955 and March 1956 mettings other Sioux reservations were invited to come and see and learn. Seven reservations accepted our invitation and attended this meeting. Seeing what we had done the other tribes got interested in the problem and all seven reservations voted to join together. An organization was created called the "Lakota Tuberculosis Control Conference." All

the reservations adopted their own Law and Order codes regarding "communicable disease." This coordination solved many problems in our program. Some of our patients had been moving off the Cheyenne River Reservation to other reservations that did not have a similar tribal code concerning communicable diseases. After all the Tribes had adopted the same tribal laws, these patients could not remain on the other reservations if they wanted to avoid treatment and so they had to move into the towns outside the reservations in the state.

The State of South Dakota finally adopted a law similar to the tribal codes requiring hospitalization for TB. Today if TB is discovered in time, the patient does not need to be hospitalized and can remain at home if they will take the required pills for one to two years. But there still needs to be a constant surveillance by all health people since it is not unusual to have the disease spread in epidemic proportions from one individual who is not discovered soon enough.

The success of this state-wide health organization was due to the fact that it was Indian operated and planned. The people felt that it was their organization because they had started it. The name of the organization was changed to Lakota TB and Health Association in 1958 at a workshop in Rosebud, South Dakota. The workshop participants felt by then that we needed to go into other areas of health, other than TB. The Nebraska tribe joined the organization at this time making it a much larger organization. Today, there are eighteen tribes that are members as well as the Rapid City Service Unit. The Lakota TB and Health Association adopted a Constitution and By-Laws and was formally chartered in

1968 at Pierre, South Dakota.

The Lakota TB and Health Association is composed of volunteer members. No one receives a salary. The tribes pay per diem and mileage to their delegates but if the officers are not receiving a salary with their respective tribes, they receive no compensation to attend the meetings and workshops. Many people do not realize and understand the dedication that keep Indian people working voluntarily to help their fellow men; men such as Mr. Charles Little Hawk from Pine Ridge. This voluntary work is due in part to the feeling that the Lakota TB and Health Association is our organization, and the "relative" attitude we seem to have been born with.

In talking to Indians who have worked in the various health fields for years, most of them have had some personal experience that inspires them to keep working to help our people. I used to go with my husband to hunt game and when he would wound a deer and go up to the deer to give the "coup de grace" I would see the look in the eyes of the deer, fear and a sort of resigned look. I have seen this same look in the eyes of our old people who were waiting in the clinic rooms. This look made me want to help them in whatever way I could so they could understand the nature of their illness.

Others have said that they have had a relative die because of some illness that could have been prevented. So they work to help someone else live longer. Many have had so much training in the health area that they feel obligated to utilize this training and pass on the information they have gained in their training to others who need it. The Lakota TB and Health Association members have been doing their work for many years. Now the leadership is

composed of mostly younger members who have joined the organization over the years.

One of the most important aspects of health is that you can not lie about an illness--machines are not computed to tell a falsehood. So to me an illness is an honest thing because no one wants to be sick. Especially the older people who will go to see a doctor as a last resort--and will if asked by the doctor, "Does it hurt real bad?", they will say, "Yes, a little bit," when it hurts real bad. So when an older person goes to the hospital, they are real sick.

We are beginning to find that some of our people will go to a hospital clinic and before they are called to see the doctor, will leave. In trying to find out why, we find that some have to catch a ride, and their ride is going home, so they leave. Some get tired of waiting and leave. Everyone on the reservation wanting to see a doctor should be prepared to wait 4-5 hours, especially now with the doctor shortage. The appointment system benefits only the people within a short distance from the hospital. The clinic nurse should be able to see that one of the patients needs immediate help and be able to tell the doctor so that person is seen regardless of appointments. Babies and old people should be considered priority for clinics.

Health education was given top priority when Indian Health Service began working with the Indians in 1955. In the local communities the health educators, who were mostly Indian, were very successful. Most of them had films to show and presentations by health personnel. The speakers geared their talks to about the 5th grade level. Many of the communities learned about health boards

and today are still carrying on with local boards. Where the Water and Sanitation Program and projects have been completed, there are still active groups that have maintained their own systems for years.

Today there is very little Health Education work being done by the Indian Health Service and they seem to be phasing out this program. The communities are still asking for community meetings and meetings are the only method of informing the public. Our alcoholism programs are not very successful because there is no community education or community meetings on it. The Indian alcoholic goes to a treatment center, gets dried out and returns to the same environment and usually falls off the wagon because no community education is being done to help him after he returns.

Many of us have been advocating that the Indian communities should be taught about Indian culture and Indian philosophy so we can better understand ourselves. In the past we were taught to be ashamed of being Indian and Indian people were punished for speaking in their native tongue. It is this group that is now adult who need to be taught to understand about themselves. Indian culture should be taught in all the schools as the younger generation today is becoming more and more aware of the Indianness era.

In this "Indian era" of today, the Indian society needs help to be able to do their own things. For years and years the Indian was not allowed to do his own thinking and planning so it is new to him. He needs help and training to be able to make knowledgeable decisions. The national educational level of Indians is 6.7 and community education must be geared to that level. The cultural

heritage of many of the customs enjoyed by Indians must be understandable to the people who will be "assisting" him. Too many times individuals who have no knowledge of Indians and who have never seen an Indian will try to help and will attempt to force their own system down the Indians throat. Such experiences will then have a lasting effect on both, the Indian and non-Indian, but they are crippling and hindering the Indian for the rest of his life. A strong resentment is created that will probably never be overcome. When a non-Indian enters the home of another non-Indian, he is a guest in that home and respects the person's rights. When a non-Indian enters our (home) reservation, he does not consider nor does he respect our rights. Why? Non-Indians coming to the reservations would do well to heed the old adage, "When in Rome do as the Romans do."

An Indian Health Service psychiatrist said after reviewing mental Health Programs on three reservation that the one common problem he found was the Indian's lack of self-esteem, even to the point of filling out application forms for employment!! In our Indian world we have a custom that we do not brag about ourselves. We expect our deeds to speak for us, and other's to do this bragging. Back in the "good ole Indian days", the Indian received his names by the deeds of honor he performed. This still holds true today in this day of "moon trips" and jet age.

The Lakota TB and Health Association members were instrumental in creating the Community Health Representative Program that is being so successful with Indian people throughout the Indian world. The Lakota TB members had been working voluntarily among their people at the grass-root level in the communities. When the OEO programs were being prepared and planned by local people, the Indian

communities asked that these workers be paid a salary and paid transportation costs so they could get about more readily and be able to help more people. The Community Health Aide Programs were then started. The Lakota TB and Health Association then requested the Indian Health Service to continue these Health Aide programs. Fortunately, there were Indian people personnel in Washington who were able to help make these programs a reality.

The Lakota TB and Health Association adopted resolution #72-6 at a quarterly meeting on March 10, 1972, at Pierre, South Dakota. This resolution requested immediate action from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the State Department of Public Instruction, and the Indian Health Service to develop and make available a student health education program. A survey was conducted by the Aberdeen Indian Health Service as to what topics should receive high priority and at what grade levels this should start. This health guide was devised by the Health Education Associates, Ltd. Meetings were held to inform the Education Section of the Bureau and they were requested to give this guide to the School Boards of the various schools. The Lakota members were requested to also get their tribal councils endorsing this guide. The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Council endorsed this Guide and referred it to the Education Department of the Cheyenne-Eagle Butte School to incorporate it in their school curriculum. The State of South Dakota Department of Public Instructions have indicated they will adopt a similar guide.

Health Education training must be taken to the communities in their own environment. This will enable the training material to be geared to the local situations and thus be understandable to the local grass-rooters. Any comparison to another living situation,

especially a non-Indian situation will "turn off" the Indians. Many older people have never ridden on an elevator, seen an escalator, or done any of the things that other Americans have done.

Because Indian people have never had much money (national average income of $1,200) they have no idea of budgets or budgeting, and the basic needs of food and shelter are the priorities of Indians. It is almost impossible for our older people to understand budgets. They have taken care of themselves all their lives. When they become 65 years of age they are forced to apply for old age assistance from the State. The social workers sign them up and they are forced to "eat up their lease income or their land sale income." This income is prorated on a 12 month basis and the assistance grant supplements the balance of his need, usually averaging $28.00 a month. Social workers try to modernize the Indian, but he knows nothing of modern basic needs--electricity, fuel oil, propane gas, water, sewer, food prices, clothing, and incidentals. He cannot purchase a kettle or coffee pot with his incidental amount. He knows nothing of saving--due to his cultural value of sharing. The most disliked people are the State Social Workers--who have not been oriented to Indian people.

Another example is the "Sioux Benefits" that the Cheyenne River Sioux tribal members receive when they reach the age of 18 and are single. They receive a sum of money, usually about $1,400.00. This money is programmed for them if they are in school. If they are out of school, they receive the full amount. So naturally they leave school when they reach the age of 18. They blow the whole wad in a day or two, usually buying second hand cars that last a week

or at the most a month. No preparation has been made for the "wise spending" of the money. The parents usually help spend this money, for their own benefit and needs. The members who have utilized this money wisely are very few.

To the Indian, the reservation is the "last frontier." This is life as he understands it. This is freedom, although many non-Indians believe otherwise. This is where the Indian knows there are those who love and care about him. The Indain values of generosity, sharing, respect, and compassion; they are all real to Indians because they exist among Indians.

In the Indian society, leaders are expected to abide by the customs and traditions. Memorial dinner give aways are expected when a member of your family dies. Thousands and hundreds of dollars are spent doing exactly this. Do we get an exemption from the Internal Revenue? IRS people say they will give an exemption if you will get a receipt for the donation you give. This regulation naturally places a different emphasis on the gift. No wonder we are developing Mental Health problems trying to live like the white man! These basic facts have to be understood by the non-Indian before they can successfully raise the level of health for the Indian people.

An example is the Rabies Control Program. "A man's best friend is his dog!" This is probably one of the reasons why Indians have so many dogs, probably their only friends. About 1960, a rabies clinic was conducted by the Indian Health Service on the Cheyenne River Reservation. A sanitarian and a veterinarian flew around to the districts without explaining their program to the people. After they concluded their program, we asked how many

dogs were vaccinated. They said two hundred and some. We knew there were more dogs so we asked the CHR's to do a sneak survey. They reported that the people had tied their dogs under the beds, in chicken houses, and some had loaded up their dogs and gone visiting because they didn't understand what those two men were doing. Another clinic was conducted by the Tribal Health Committee, assisted by the Law and Order. The reamining three hundred or so dogs were vaccinated. In giving them a receipt for their money, we stressed the name of their dog(s) had to be on the receipt and it was amazing to see how the owners responded. (Of course the CHR's who live in the community knew exactly how many dogs each family had.)

How can one teach Health Education when there is nothing but poverty examples to use? If the Department of Health, Education & Welfare was really concerned and sincere about helping Indian people, they would help to bring industry to the reservation. The Indian is willing and wants to be independent. He wants to earn his own bread and butter but there is no opportunity for him to be employed.

In recent years there has been a resurgence of the tribal or extended family concern for the health care of our people in the formation of the Community Health Representative program. This program was originally sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Now the Indian Health Service contracts with the tribes for the CHR program. This program is indispensible to the people. The CHR's receive five to six weeks of training at the Desert Willow Training Center in Tuscon, Arizona. They continue their field training in their communities and become a liason between the hospital and the community. They assist such sick persons that have no transportation

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and cannot get to the hospital. They are bilingual and interpret doctor-patient information.

As I have already mentioned health involves both mental and physical health. So respect for Indians and Indian culture would be the most important part of health education programs. I do not like to hear the word "cult" being used in reference to our belief system. It sounds so primitive and sort of devilish. I prefer that the word religion be used. The Indian believes in the Great Spirit and when we pray we envision God as one of us. I suppose the Black people envision his as a Black Man, the Spanish American envision his as a Spanish American, and so forth. I think these differences are real to the people who believe them and until these differences are respected health education will not mean very much because it will be another type of education imposed on us and not one that we have developed ourselves.

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A VARIATION PLAN FOR INDIAN COMMUNITIES

by

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Overall

For a population that numbers about one million persons, American Indians are extremely diverse in their social and cultural situations and widely scattered geographically. Any set of prescriptions for the schooling of their children must be flexible and allow for the variations among individuals, tribes, and regions, as well as among occupational and social class positions.

Representation and Control

One of the surest ways of facilitating the required adaptation of programs to the needs of Indian peoples is the provision for representation of the Indian population affected into the agency controlling the educational enterprise. Where Indians live together as a community, local control of the schools by an elected

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Indian school board is feasible and in accord with overall American traditions. There can no longer be any excuse or justification for disenfranchisement of Indians from such control. Where schools are numerically dominated by non-Indian school children yet receive federal monies for special programs for Indian pupils, it is incumbent upon the federal government to facilitate the monitoring of these programs by representatives of the local Indian community.

In general, where curricular or other programs are prepared for Indian youngsters, there should be at least the same respect for the views of Indian parents as there is for White parents in the case of programs for their children. While educational authorities may conceive that they know best and have the evidence to support their views, nevertheless, much American tradition supports the view that it is the parents who have the final word about the operation of the schools affecting their children. And much research has indicated that many schools would in fact function more effectively if the principle of parental representation participation, or even control, were revived and reinstituted.

Given the diversity of Indian peoples there is need for local representation and control. Notwithstanding that kind of participation, there needs also to be a national board of Indian education, sponsored by the federal government and containing representatives of each of the major kinds of Indian peoples, including reservation, rural nonreservation, urban and so on. The national boards which have previously been organized have overrepresented the organized tribal governments and underrepresented urban Indians despite the

fact that increasingly it is in the cities where Indian peoples are located and where their children will attend schools.

Research Investigation and Evaluation

The total amounts of funds allocated one way or another to Indian education are substantial. In few other areas of government financing or business enterprise are such quantities of money disbursed without provision for systematic monitoring to check whether or not the funds were used for the purposes intended and whether or not the practices are efficient. Erratically, there have been investigations of federal schools, and more recently a large study of elementary and secondary education. But there has never been a systematic review of such a long term institution as Haskell American Junior College, with the result that there is no way of judging whether its effects on its graduates have been positive or negative or whether those effects bear any realistic relationship to the costs.

Only recently have there been studies of the pattern of utilization of Johnson O'Malley and other federal funds by state and local school systems. These investigations have exposed consistent patterns of fraud, which largely may be attributed to the knowledge by the appropriate officals that their usage of funds was not being monitored.

Understandably many Indian political and educational leaders have become cynical about "research" especially educational research. They tend to regard such research as a device used by governmental officials to avoid coming to grips with issues of

power and responsibility and of their misuse. But, whether or not a greater share of school control passes to Indian hands, research and evaluation will continue more than ever to be needed. In order to be effective, this research must be independent of school systems and school bureaucracies; it must also be responsible to Indian peoples, most easily via national and local boards of Indian education. The waste of funds designed to improve Indian education can only be reduced (and even so not eliminated) by active monitoring through research, evaluation, and investigation. Hence it is recommended that (1) within the National Institute of Education there be established a special agency whose job will be to commission evaluations of Indian education and (2) every appropriation bill for Indian education designate a proportion of funds (e.g., ten per cent) for evaluative research associated with the project funded. It is further recommended that of the monies so appropriated for research and evaluation half be at the disposal of the NIE agency and the other half at the disposal of the national board of Indian education.

Tribal "Traditional" Indians in a Rural Enclave

Sometimes called "Country Indians" or "Cultural Fullbloods" or "Tribal Indians", these are the sterotypically Indian peoples. In large areas of the Navajo Reservation, or in the rural regions of the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation, or in the traditional villages of the Hopi, or in the rural villages of Cherokee in northeastern Oklahoma, are enclaves of people who speak a native American language as the dominant domestic and ceremonial tongue. The Indian

language is the first learned by the child. Together with that language he learns distinctive cultural patterns which often have profound sacred meanings. The child matures in a small and tightly knit social environment of Indian kith and kin. At school age, he enters an institution where his classroom, or even the entire school, is composed of children from the same cultural and linguistic background.

The social solidarity of the Indian children in these schools is strong. All too often, these children confront educational programs which attempt to instruct by individuating and individualizing them or even by pitting them as individuals against each other in classroom competition. Faced with these kinds of educational techniques, the school children tend to withdraw into the solidarity of their peer societies. Teachers and administrators are then frozen out of their world.

Given the concentration of these children in schools and classrooms, programs which are adapted to their specific social, cultural, and linguistic characteristics become economically and institutionally feasible. Most important are a set of instructional procedures for working with, rather than against, the solidaristic peer society. These procedures would require a special training program for the educators and educational administrators. Together with such procedures would go a bicultural and bilingual curriculum. While production of these materials, and development of the educational procedures, might be considered costly (on a pupil basis) because of the realitvely small number of pupils of any of these tribal-cultural groupings, nonetheless they are of

great significance in the educational and personal maturation of the pupils. Moreover, it should be possible to develop materials in an inexpensive fashion by short-circuiting the utilizing of expensive educational laboratories and consultants while dealing directly with such resource personnel as revered tribal elders, Indian political leaders, as well as those anthropologists and linguists who are, or wish to become, involved in research among these peoples. As quid pro quo for their study of the native language, anthropological linguists may be recruited to produce suitable learning materials.

In some rural enclaves, a major impediment to the introduction of a bilingual and bicultural curriculum may be the Indian elders themselves. Having been convinced of the value of their children of high fluency in English and competencies in basic scholastic skills (e.g. arithmetic), they look upon the introduction of native Indian skills as a distraction. In addition, some parents may regard their native language and arts as pertaining to the sacred and so as dangerous or improper for utilization in the schoolroom.

For these reasons, it would be important to have a national Indian board of education with a resource staff which could assist these rural enclaved peoples. Of special importance would be the opportunity for these people to visit and assess for themselves the schooling patterns developed by other Indian and minority groups. Again, since the best educational system is still a matter for debate, involving differential moral and evaluative judgements, there should be encouragement to the different tribal groupings to

develop different types of educational systems, providing that these could be suitably monitored and evaluated.

In secondary schools as currently operated, male pupils are apt to find the physical education program most intelligible and appealing. Friendships with athletic coaches can be of great importance in restraining the conduct of otherwise exuberant young men and so in reducing the rates of dropout and kickout. Hence in secondary school, a great deal of effort should continue to be put into maintaining a suitable athletic staff and enccuraging their services for counseling.

In both the elementary and secondary schools, there are marked advantages toward having within the schools a large proportion of Indian teachers. Again, this is a strategy which does not always appear to some traditionally oriented Indian parents, because they tend to think of school as necessarily being a "White institution" that teaches "White" skills. Subject to this dissent, there is excellent reason to facilitate the training of Indians as educators in order that there be a sizable pool of suitably licensed personnel for teaching in rural Indian classrooms.

Teaching a population of tribal pupils in a rural school requires a different orientation and set of classroom procedures than the novice teacher is likely to have learned as a student in a typical school of education. Under the best circumstances, the most the novice will previously have been exposed to is a course in "Indian history", or the like, which is inadequate preparation for the actualities of reservation existence and school conduct. Also inadequate are the few days (or week) of "orientation"

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experienced by the novice who comes for the first time to teach in a reservation school. The consequence of such poor preparation is a high rate of teacher turnover, and this in turn has deleterious effects upon the pupils. The best procedure would be to transfer the final year of teacher training to the reservation situation and to place the supervision of this training under the control of the tribal education committee.

There has been a considerable reliance upon boarding schools for tribal traditional Indians. Boarding situations for children in elementary grades are socially most undesirable and they should be eliminated regardless of the apparent sacrifice in educational quality; the cost in personal maturation is too great. At the secondary level, the arguments for and against boarding facilities become more evenly matched, and the important feature would be whether or not the facility is controlled by Indian people themselves or operated by an independent exterior agency. Much more experimentation should be conducted with small residential units in urban and suburban school settings, providing that the program logic was clearly understood, namely not to erase or disrupt Indian culture and social solidarity but, on the contrary, to provide Indian youth with a comfortable and secure base from which they could encounter the institutions of the larger society in order to learn how to maneuver and cope with them. Smaller residential units, preferably organized and operated by Indian peoples themselves, would provide more natural and less institutional settings for personal maturation; they would also eliminate the need for external authoritarian controls, such as characterize boarding institutions, and they

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would allow for the more natural controls of extended familial existence.

For pupils of tribal traditional background, there is substantial need for vocational type training in the young adult years. At the present time a variety of programs have been utilized, ranging from vocational schools, such as Haskell, to vocational programs to on-the-job training. While some evaluation has been done of the programs, there has been virtually no evaluation of Haskell, and there exist no reliable longitudinal basis. In the absence of such evaluation, the recommendation is to relate vocational training as closely as possible to actual employment opportunities and situations. Course programs within technical colleges are less successful in terms of employment than apprenticeship and internship programs (perhaps supplemented by coursework). However, it would especially be important to provide a congenial and supportive social environment for Indian students both in a residential unit and within the program itself. The program could rapidly become self-defeating if Indian students were isolated or if their peer society were threatened by the instructional system.

Summary Outline of Program for Tribal-Tradition Indians

1. Programs for parental representation on school boards and in supervisory boards of educational programs generally.
2. Development of bilingual and bicultural curricula especially tailored to each tribal cultural (linguistic) group.
3. Reservation based training programs for teachers to work with these children and these curricular materials.

4. Programs to train and enlarge the vision of Indian adults who serve on school boards or tribal educational committees.
5. Counseling for boys via physical education programs.
6. Elimination of mass boarding facilities for elementary school children.
7. Where boarding systems are necessary in secondary education (and beyond), innovation with small residential systems.

Other Indians in Reservation Enclaves

Contemporary reservations (and other rural regions) contain a significant number of educated and middle-class Indians. Their children enter school with English as a primary language and with a set of overall experiences that are comparable in many ways to those of other middle-class families in small-town America. Nevertheless, they are strongly conscious of their identities as Indians, in part as a response to the discrimination that Indians experience and in part because they meet and compete and socialize with tribal-traditional youngsters. In addition, given the rise of panIndian nationalism, they and their parents seek to consolidate their identities by exposure to native linguistic and cultural materials.

Paradoxically, the same materials that meet the needs of the tribal-traditional youngsters will not meet the needs of these middle-class ones. For the former group speaks but little English and needs badly to improve its fluency, while the other speaks English as a primary language and seeks to acquire some facility in the native language. Moreover, since the middle-class parents are not usually participants in native religious ceremonials and

do not share the native view of the world, they are indifferent to or unaware of the hazards that might occur by introducing traditional, sacred, cultural materials into the schools.

These children experience the stresses typical of marginal persons, but with some support should be able to excel as such persons often do. With backgrounds similar to children of the rural middle-class, these children will be academically oriented and a high proportion will seek collegiate training. Their parents will tend to be critical of vocational and technical programs that appear to consign their children, as Indians, to proletarian occupations. Competing at a collegiate level, these children will suffer several minor handicaps. First, coming from a rural environment where they have been accustomed to easy scholastic success in competition with tribal-traditional youngsters, they may initially have great difficulties with college level curricular materials and competitive standards. Nevertheless providing they secure adequate counseling and support, and providing they have the basic intellectual competencies, they should be able to handle the work. Second, coming from a reservation rural situation, they will almost necessarily have to live away from home during post-secondary schooling. Given the level of their parental incomes, this can impose a severe strain that could in the early years of college combine unfavorably with the scholastic pressures. Scholarship and loan programs are a necessity. For these students, a major difficulty has been the lack of clarity among government programs as to the sources of financial support. Students complain that they are shuffled back and forth between BIA offices

and college financial assistance offices in patterns that are humiliating and discouraging. It is desirable that Indian students deal with a single financial counselor who has the authority and resources to prepare a total package of financial assistance for a school year.

Urban Lower-class

Scattered among the other lower-class ethnic populations in deteriorated areas of the city, these Indians tend to suffer from casual employment, health and welfare problems, and difficulties with civic agencies (significantly the police); they respond with high rates of transiency. Almost always, a major center for intergration with other Indians are Indian bars (taverns). Where sufficient Indians have been concentrated for a long period of time, mission churches may attract Indian participation and have special programs or sponsor Indian centers. More recently, where nationalistic leaders have found a sufficient population for their efforts, there have been the emergence of Indian organizations and Indian operated programs centers. Where Indian centers are functioning, the lower-class population will be in a substantially better position than otherwise, as they then have counselors for the various kinds of assistance that are necessary for impoverished ethnic groups in an urban environment.

Children from these Indian populations normally attend schools where they are but a small part of a population that is Black, Spanish-American, or poor White. Such schools tend to be scholastically among the worst in the region. High rates of pupil dropout

and teacher turnover make for a socially unstable educational community. Coming from backgrounds which are poor by academic standards, the children have great difficulties with the normal curriculum.

The educators respond by stressing the repressive and custodial character of the school; their concern is with maintaining order and protecting property rather than with assisting their pupils in learning.

Improving the quality of education for Indians in this kind of school can scarcely be achieved without affecting the entire school and altering that kind of school is beyond the scope of this paper. Introducing curricular modifications of whatever sort can scarcely be significant in a school where curricular coverage is always poor and where rates of achievement are so low that many pupils graduate without an ability to read. Moreover, given the transient patterns of existence of the Indian parents, it is difficult to design programs that would really affect the Indian children as persons. Since Indians tend to emphasize primary (or whole-person) relationships rather than instrumental relationships, children are unlikely to be influenced by educators whom they encounter for a few days, weeks, or -- at the most -- months.

In this desperate educational situation, there are several alternate pathways to improvement: first, assist Indian centers toward institutional stability and then fund them to operate educational facilities, either as alternative schools or as tutorial establishments; second, facilitate the use of existing Indian boarding schools by these urban children; third, facilitate the use

of reservation facilities by expediting the stay of these childrer with kinfolk.

Given the pressures that force Indians to relocate from rural to urban environments, it seems best to keep children in the city and assist the formation of stable Indian centers and to fund them for the operation of tutorial schools or alternate schools.

Adult and Post-Secondary Education

We may distinguish between those adults who are poorly educated, unemployed, or underemployed, and those who are college graduates. For the first group, vocational training and placement is required; for the second group, graduate and professional programs are required.

Vocational Training

Given the high rates of unemployment and underemployment among American Indians, programs relating to occupation and vocation have a high priority. The past history of such programs since the War-On-Poverty has revealed that vocational training is far from being sufficient in and of itself. For in many cases, the major barriers to entry into an occupation are the barriers erected by management and unions, and unhappily such barriers have been effective even in reservation situations where management has had to commit itself to a system of Indian preference for local employment. The outcome of these barriers is the phenomenon of Indians who have been trained for a multiplicity of occupations but yet are underemployed.

Under the circumstances, there should be great caution about

funding further programs of vocational training unless they are linked in the most direct fashion with actual employment opportunities that appear to have some duration and stability. Of the various programs that have been in operation, it is noteworthy that the Direct Employment Program has had a better record of success than the Adult Vocational Training Program (as revealed by survey research).

Too many of these adult programs have been oriented toward cultural and social training of Indians, as if they needed to be prepared for middle-class urban existence by a kind of cultural denaturing. On the contrary, what lower-class Indians require is a strongly supportive, highly integrated local community within which to situate themselves (just as European ethnic immigrants created such communities for themselves within urban settings). The best kinds of training programs are those which are adapted to the local business environment and economic climate and which fit the capacities and orientations of the particular Indian community. While it is hard to forecast which kind of program will in fact be most successful, and while there is great risk in any program that is designed to better the condition of the impoverished, nevertheless, the odds are that the best training and employment programs would be those that were contracted through local Indian centers or organizations and which were operated in conjunction with possible local employers.

Professional Programs

There is a strong demand for Indians who are professionally

qualified as physicians, attorneys, public administrators, teachers, etc. Indians are interested in these occupations but often are handicapped by lack of adequate academic preparation. Sometimes the interest develops with maturity after a period of poor scholastic work. For such persons there should be provision for late entry into the field, including remedial training programs with financial support.

Currently, the BIA does not provide support for graduate and professional training, and the special programs for Indians have been funded by private benevolent foundations. There are several reasons for an increased role of federal support. First, professional specializations such as Indian law or Indian health do require distinct types of training. Indian law is of such a complexity that the student must invest considerable time in specialized study. The problems of Indian health are quite distinct from those confronting medical personnel in urban private practice. Second, these specializations have to do with Indian peoples who are in a special role vis-à-vis the federal government. Third, the Indian peoples need the assistance and advice of persons who have professional levels of skill.

It is therefore recommended that the government fund graduate and professional programs for training Indians and that this funding also include provision for preparatory remedial programs.

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A VARIATION PLAN FOR INDIAN COMMUNITIES

by

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Review of Indian Education and its Federal Relationship

The Federal role of educating Indian people dates back to the 1700's when a Continental Congress offered many of the tribes the benefits of a western European education. The first Congressional act of consequence occurred in 1805 when $15 thousand was appropriated to "promote civilization among the savages." Thus began the Federal educational relationship that was to vary in thought and policy until the present time. The basis of this relationship, of course, is rooted in the establishment of some 389 treaties with various tribes and groups, who made certain land concessions in return for Federal services which were meant to ensure their health, education and welfare.[1]

The purpose of education in its earliest forms was to remove the Indian people as an impediment to an expansionist doctrine or "Manifest Destiny." By 1887, when the Dawes Severalty Act (Indian

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Allotment Act) was passed, Indian people had relinquished most of their land holdings through coercion, fraud, and warfare. The Bureau of Indian Affairs had been established within the U.S. Department of Interior with education as one of its primary functions. In spite of this fact the following pattern was established by the government as its policy on Indian education:

1897 -- No appropriations for sectarian schools (Indian schools were considered sectarian)

1905 -- Contracts made with mission schools using treaty and trust funds on the request of tribes. This wa challenged as being contrary to the policy stated in the Appropriations Act of 1897.

1908 -- The Supreme Court held that "both treaty and trust funds to which Indians could lay claim as a matter of right, were not in the scope of the statute and could not be used for sectarian schools."

1917 -- No appropriation out of the U.S. Treasury.

1958 -- Money appropriated for institutional care rather than instruction.[2]

Throughout this period schools were primarily the instrument for assimilation. Curriculum stressed the importance of the trades, with agriculture receiving the primary emphasis. Yet the fact was that of the remaining land, "56 million acres, 14 million were 'critically eroded' and not one acre was considered 'uneroded'...by the BIA." Efforts were made to make Indians agriculturalists in spite of the fact that many Indian people, by tradition, had never been farmers.[3] The Merriam Report of 1926 documented "cruel and inhumane" treatment

of Indians in the Federal boarding systems as well as the fact that this system was failing in its endeavors.

The Merriam Report stimulated public outrage and served as the instrument for reform during the tenure of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the thirties.[4] This period saw an increase in public school enrollments by Indian students and was the basis for the enactment of the Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934. Ironically, the liberal nature of this legislation has successfully been kept from the knowledge of Indian people and a conservative interpretation of it has now become firmly entrenched in the state systems of education. Consequently, funds intended to be used for meeting the "specific, unmet educational needs of Indian students" have lost their true identity in most public schools and have been used to finance every other conceivable item. To date, this problem still persists and Myron Jones, (whom I refer to as the Ralph Nader of Indian education) describes the problem as follows:

> The Johnson-O'Malley funds, which are supposed to be used to try new and better ways of educating Indian children, are instead being used to expand on Title I programs that have been proven as failures... No one supervises the educational value of what the money is spent for. If the Congress would secure local control of the spending and prevent local schools from getting their hands on it, still more progress for Indian children would be made. Programs would be tailored better to the children, and the 'Accreditation' problems that local school systems claim they run into in hiring Indian teachers would be overcome. Indian parents could find Indian teachers they would be willing to give accreditation to.

Additionally, he charged:

> Sophisticated superintendents in New Mexico and Arizona treat Johnson-O'Malley monies like fancy 'desert' to distract parents from the barren menu of this regular school program offered their children.[5]

Recently, the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated the policy of

"decentralization" with the intent of placing additional decision making powers in the hands of its Area Directors. Whatever its rationale, this decision has already proven as a setback to the schools and communities that are operating their own schools via contracts with the Bureau. Ramah Navajo High School stands to lose construction money because the Alburquerque Area Office did not see their construction need as one of its priorities. Hammon, Oklahoma's Cheyenne community could experience severe consequences since their $30,000.00 contract is for the planning and development of a relevant educational program and true educational cost has not been determined or affixed for their determined need.

Based on these observations, we can assume that the BIA Area Offices and personnel are more committed to their own preservation and the prepetuation of their own interests than they are to Indian self-determination. Decentralization of authority, which places the power in the Area Offices, will only serve to provide for the maintenance of a system strongly opposed to self-determination.[6]

Nevertheless, because of the large blocks of non-taxable Indian land and a trust responsibility established by the numerous treaties, the Federal agencies will have to remain as the only stable financial source for Indian education. Indian people themselves must devise a policy which is both compatible to their needs and assures a financial base to support a relevant educational structure. Additionally, those tribes that have lost their visibility with the Federal government (such as the Lumbees of North Carolina and many terminated tribes and bands), as well as those who, by choice, refuse to establish a Federal relationship for fear of relinquishing their sovereignty

(the Onondaga Nation of New York), will have to rely on the humanitarian attitude of those individuals such as Senators Kennedy and Mondale who initiated the Indian Education Act. All legislation pertaining to Indian education, although piecemeal in nature, must be safeguarded until the time that a comprehensive educational bill can be structured to meet the entire educational needs of Indian people.

Funding For Indian Education

Congress appropriates the funds necessary to carry out the Federal educational objectives for Indians. Appropriations are based upon the number of Indians in the existing BIA and public school systems. A study conducted by the U.S. Department of H.E.W. projected a total of 300,000 students in these systems in 1970. Of these:

- 52,000 on reservations attending BIA schools
- 18,000 on reservations attending Mission schools.
- 100,000 on reservations attending public schools.
- 130,000 off reservations attending public schools.

The funds for the education of Indian students in public schools come from various sources. Most public school districts with large Indian enrollments have a low tax generating potential and must rely on Federal supplements to conduct educational programs. To illustrate how funds may come into a district, the following example is cited:

A community with school enrollment of 100, 50 non-Indian, 50 Indian.

State and Local Support	$300.00
BIA (Johnson O'Malley)	150.00

P.L. - 874 (Impact Aid)	100.00
ESEA Title I	50.00
Total per Pupil Expenditure	$600.00

The National per pupil expenditure average is $783. Many states expend as high as $1,400.00 while an established norm for Follow-Through Programs is established at $3,200.00. The national average funding for Johnson O'Malley Programs is $207.00 per pupil with the highest allotment being $1,168.00 and the lowest allotment being $71.00.[7]

The funding for Federal School Programs in 1971 was $107,538,423. which was distributed to seventeen states. The highest state allocation was almost $32 million with the lowest being $39,000.00. The 1971-72 allocation for contract schools has been $4.5 million dollars. Funds appropriated through the Department of Interior are the primary sources for supporting Indian education. The U.S. Office of Education provides additional funds for Indian education through various discretionary and entitlement programs, and through the implementation of the Indian Education Act.[8]

Accountability to Indian People

Recent Congressional investigations of Indian education included statements by many Indian leaders and educators pointing out the need for accountability and improvement over existing educational systems that affect Indian people. The newly established Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards is leading a community endeavor to bring about increased Indian community control. This organization's

efforts have been exceedingly successful in helping Indian communities such as Ramah, New Mexico, Busby, Montana, Hammon, Oklahoma and many others obtain the contracts necessary to administer their own educational programs. The problems involving the financing of public school programs for Indian students are becoming more visible to the public through coordinated efforts of the Coalition.

Drawing attention to the issues involved is only part of the battle. In order to make any significant changes in Indian education, the Coalition must first penetrate an almost impermeable bureaucracy (The BIA) whose archaic delivery system doesn't have sufficient flexibility to assume a contracting relationship with Indian communities. The development of a good contracting policy for educational services is still hamstrung by Federal procurement policies and regulations designed for acquiring commodities such as paper clips, paper towels and toilet paper. It is wholly unrealistic to expect that a reasonable contracting process recognizing the Indian Community School as an equal contracting partner can be realized when such procurement regulations have to be followed. The Coalition attorneys have drafted and presented to the BIA a model for a more flexible contracting policy which would permit Indian tribes and communities to negotiate contracts in an atmosphere of true bargaining. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has yet to acknowledge the efforts of the Coalition and is still insisting upon the commodity procurement approach to contract negotiation.

Other Federal funding sources for educational training programs have assumed a paternalistic attitude towards Indian service contracts and grants. Indeed, Myron Jones has compared the Grant Operation and

Administration of the U.S.O.E. to "the top echelon of the Conglosese Army's chain of command."[9]

Another overriding factor that needs clarification is how tribal and community controlled schools are viewed by the U.S. Office of Education. In the past, these schools have not been considered for funding since established criteria did not recognize them as "local education agencies." Consequently, Title VII Bilingual Education projects were channeled through the BIA in order to be given by such local agencies. One particular project on the Pine Ridge Reservation fell into political disfavor with a newly elected tribal chairman and in connivance with the BIA Area Director, the chairman was able to wrest the contract away from the nonprofit corporation even after evaluations had proven that the project was operated in a highly successful and competent manner by the local Indian controlled agency. The only basis for giving the contract to the tribe was political expediency.

Thus it is evident that officials in the top government offices must assume an attitude towards the Indian community that acknowledges the communities capabilities to administer their own programs. They must review past and present policy with the realization that change is inevitable. Any new policy that is developed must take place through Indian involvement and with the concurrence of the Indian community in keeping with the spirit of the committment made by the President that "every Indian community wishing to do so should be able to control its own school."[10]

The Need For Local Control

The premise for establishment of a new Federal policy on Indian education rests on the ability of Indian communities to establish and assume local control. The experience of the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards has conclusively shown that Indian communities do have this ability. The lack of opportunity to assume this control has been identified in a Senate Subcommittee report on Indian Education as one of the single most deterrent factors in reversing many of the failures that Indian people have experienced in education. Without providing a mechanism for accountability, the Federal government has nourished a process of inconsistency ranging from poorly defined assessments and goals to antiquated and varying methods of systems management. The mechanism for accountability which must be instituted is that of an Indian controlled local school board which has direct access to Federal dollars for Indian education. Local control provides the community with the authority and responsibility to assess their own needs, define their own objectives, and implement the types of programs that will fulfill their established goals. This is the accountability that is presently lacking in existing Federal systems.

The existing contract schools have demonstrated that significant changes in student achievement are possible and can contribute to a change in community attitude as well. The stereotype of the incompetent Indian has been reversed significantly in those communities that control their own educational processes. Moreover the recent study on inequality in education by Christopher Jencks points out that distributing educational dollars in a manner that will permit greater participation by beneficiaries increases their opportunity for success. This report infers also that the family is a

significant factor in the educational process.[12] By drawing the family into involvement in a school's activity will increase the benefits that a child will derive from that institution.

Although achieving local control by contracting is highly desirable, there are communities, who for various reasons, choose not to contract but to leave the operation of schools in the hands of the BIA. These communities should be provided with a mechanism to direct the local BIA operated facility in an advisory capacity. The existing manual for advisory school boards is too vague and should be clarified so that it is indeed an instrument for local control. Broad overall objectives established by BIA Education Specialists should not supplant the identified needs of any Indian community. Rather, these education specialists should be resources persons to assist advisory boards in determining an Indian community's educational priority. This goal can only be achieved by the BIA personnel changing their role from that of administrator to that of an educational technician.

The Indian Community and Education --A "Taxonomy" of Diversity

Unlike bilingual persons with the same national origins, most of the Native American people of this land may not share the same commonalities that would tend to make them socially and linguistically cohesive. For example, it is entirely concievable for a Chicano from Chula Vista, California to fit in with a similar community in Brownsville, Texas. Their language, heritage, and in many instances, their religion are the cohesive elements for social and economic adjustment. These commonalities can and usually do enhance the

individual's chances for employment and the bilingual educational needs of his children are fairly well simplified by the commonality involved. By and large, their culture group embraces the same value system which features a strong Catholic ethic.

By comparison Indian people come from many culturally and geographically diverse groups. Their life styles and value systems may be as different as their languages which in themselves constitute a unique educational problem. Not only must an educational process be adapted to embrace their culture, but the training of educational personnel to accompany the program compounds the problem as well.

The remainder of this paper will be devoted to identifying this community according to its diversity and devising a variance plan for the development of relevant educational systems. One fact must be considered however and that is a 'plan' is only useful if the community is understood as the most important element in the plan and has the option of adapting or adjusting the plan to fit its needs. Federal funding sources should consider that educational programs are born out of diversity and their chances for success can only be insured by the agencies' willingness to channel resources to the Indian community.

Adult and Post Secondary Education in Isolated Localities

Recently a U.S. Representative, a member of the House Interior Committee on Indian Affairs, sent a form letter with a questionnaire to members of tribal governments and directors of Indian organizations. The letter stated that he was "interested" in the welfare

of Indian people and wanted to "do something" in relationship to their education. The questionnaire listed a number of trades such as auto mechanics, body and fender repair, welding, cosmetology, nurses aide training, and the usual gamut of old "relocation" training programs. Rounding out his list were educational programs and the questionnaire included alcoholism prevention and drug abuse programs as well as other mental health programs.

While all of the programs on his questionnaire are significantly meritorious, we cannot accept these subjects as an ultimate form of educational programming. There is no need for initiating programs until we can reverse the inconsistencies that exist in Indian education. This reversal will only come after sound elementary and secondary programs are established within the Indian communities. The significant consequences of elementary and secondary programs that truly meet the needs of the Indian communities would provide the Indian individual with a school environment that would not force him to drop out and would ultimately provide him with an educational experience that would allow him to make a choice of accepting a trade or vocational field or of attending college and entering one of the professional fields. The fact remains that the dismal failure of the Federal government's educational efforts has left us with a problem in adult education of continually expanding dimensions.

The BIA Relocation program which was initiated to assimilate Indian people into the "maelstrom" of American life has proven a failure. The high dropout rates in the relocation programs resulting in a significant number of Indians returning to their homes must serve as an indicator in developing relevant adult educational

programs to meet their needs.

A goal of tribal governments today is to attain economic self-determination. The trend in educational planning should be concurrent with the economic planning of the tribes. The community must be a part of that planning process since they ultimately are the beneficiaries of any subsequent programs. Planning contracts must be solicited which will provide Indian communities with the resources to develop training programs that fit their particular needs. This type of relationship has already been established in some communities. The Lummi Tribe of Western Washington is now operating an aquaculture project designed to train individuals in the raising and marketing of seafoods.

Many of the Plains tribes have found stock raising compatible with their traditions yet complicated leasing practices prohibit them from stock raising except on a very small scale. Many of these leasing practices benefit neither the individual Indian nor the tribe, but rather the non-Indian who has no other interest than the profit to be derived from Indian lands.

Merchandising and manufacturing industries have been established by outside non-Indian interests on reservations. Rarely have tribes sought assistance to develop their own production. If they did they were quickly discouraged by the "experts" in BIA. Such "experts" expound the unfeasibility of tribal ownership of production, and yet are eager to sell cheap Indian labor to outside industrial interests.

Aquacultures, hydroponic farming and many other futuristic technological industries could very well be developed by Indians with adult educational training programs. They have not been pursued

because the BIA uses resources to attempt to train young Indian men and women in obsolete trades in such places as Los Angeles, Dallas, Denver and Chicago.

If we are to succeed in training or educating Indian adults for the vocations we must acknowledge two facts. First, if the present U.S. employment trend is an indicator, many individuals that we train now will change their profession or vocation from two to five times during their productive years. Second, most Indian people want to remain at home and will do so if the opportunity is presented.

Regardless of any cultural parameters involved, these facts establish an educational goal that must be met by an adult educational vocational program. This goal is that an individual must have a background which permits flexibility in choosing a profession and adjustment capability when a change in profession is needed. Secondly, and most important, an educational goal must be oriented to the developing economy on the individual's home reservation. Educational vocational planning must be conducted hand in hand with economic development planning. Federal agencies cannot carryout this planning process--it must be accomplished by the local communities and Tribal Governments.

A. Adult Education Programs

After an Indian community has outlined and determined their vocational needs the delivery system must be implemented. The most economical and efficient delivery system would be to implement programs that are reservation-based, so that vocational programs are

designed to meet existing labor markets as well as developing markets.

Indian control would be assured by contracting with local community groups to oversee training projects and determine when a particular training phase has fulfilled a labor demand. Community training sites could be established in feasible locations to permit maximum participation by beneficiaries.

An alternative to training centers would be the establishment of mobile learning centers that could go to reservation localities with concentrated populations. These mobile learning centers would provide adult basic education and be equipped to offer a vocational component as well. The key to designing relevant adult programs should be in the adaptability of the project to community needs.

The local Indian community controlled school is the most promising agency to conduct adult education programs. It can insure an Indian planning process and when provided resources, establish itself as a community education center. As such it would differ from the closed system approach of the BIA and Public School systems.

B. Post Secondary College Programs

Significant increase in the enrollment of Indian college youth has occurred in the last ten years. An estimated 10,500 Indian students received BIA financial assistance during the 1971-72 academic year. Projections for the 73-74 academic year reach approximately 15,000 students. Since the Federal policy has not been established to "gear up" to meet this need, as many as 4,000 to 5,000 Indian students may have been deprived of a college education this current year. We

can talk of increased appropriations, but the answer in meeting the growing demand for higher education lies in the alternatives that maximize the effective use of Federal funds.

Many Indian leaders have maintained that the development of junior colleges and reservation college centers would relieve the tremendous pressures that exist in the field of higher education. Navajo Community College has an enrollment of about 700 Navajo students and a school plant almost entirely financed by Federal funds. Other reservations have established college centers for themselves. This trend appears to be increasing.

Reservation based college centers and junior colleges can provide the first and second college years at a relatively economical cost compared to state colleges and universities where residential costs must be included. At present much of the clientele for the reservation centers of higher education has been limited to paraprofessionals and other tribal and BIA employees who would have had to go off the reservation to complete their college education. More college centers are needed on reservations.

The Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards is operating a teacher training program designed to upgrade classroom skills and provide specific knowledge or skills. This project is designed to "sensitize" new teachers and staff, both Indian and non-Indian, to the realism of working in Indian controlled schools. The community designs the content, determines its priorities and devises the delivery system of this program. The Coalition, as the grantee, establishes accountability and report mechanisms for grant compliance and provides consultation to project sites as the need arises. Final

evaluation of the project will be compiled by the central office.

The teacher training program is a clear example of how "diversity" can be handled with a limited amount of funding. The project will be able to provide 12-22 semester hours for nearly 180 participants. Projects such as this could be implemented in other areas of reservation development such as range and livestock management, recreation land management or any area which may prove to have a compatible economic bearing.

In addition to supporting the educational needs for adult vocational and higher educational programs, Congress must be kept informed about projects with an innovative community intent. Talent Search, Teacher Corps and Upward Bound programs should be considered on their merits and improved so they can be used to supplement existing BIA higher education programs.

Reservation Elementary and Secondary Schools

In spite of the diverse nature of Indian communities commonalities exist which permit the development of a general educational framework that contains specific locally applied subject matter. For example, in curriculum the following areas should be stressed:

1. Language Development: In every Indian community of which we have knowledge, students have experienced problems with communication skills. This is true both in communities where English is a foreign language and where English is learned as a first language. Curriculum materials should be prepared to assist all Indian students in developing and upgrading advanced English language skills that embrace think-

ing and organizational skills. In Indian communities where the native language has been retained remedial English methods and thinking and organizational skills should be included in the curriculum.

2. Tribal Historical Development: Study of the tribe or ban represented by the community school should be included. These courses can be broken down into the following curricular areas:

a) History and Culture of Tribe
b) Historical perspective in relation to the dominant Anglo society
c) The operant local Indian value system, including a comparison with the dominant Anglo value system.
d) The traditional local economy, and the relationship between economic self-sufficiency, economic mobility, and education.
e) Contemporary American Indian.

This curriculum could be implemented in a yearly progression pattern according to the rate of interest and ability to "digest" or absorb this knowledge. Additionally, for those communities that have retained and use a native language, bilingual projects could be planned out and implemented in conjunction with social studies and other curricular areas.

Staff Development

In addition to the curricular needs of a school with large concentration of Indian students, the need of phasing in Indian teachers or teachers, sensitive to local needs, is equally important. Implementing staff development programs can be accomplished in conjunction with local Indian school boards and school administrators. These projects could utilize local community resource persons to interject the community philosophy.

Staff exchange projects to bring in new concepts of innovativeness

could be facilitated between Indian community schools, thus broadening an individual's knowledge through an exchange of skills and experiences. Quality education for Indians is inherently connected with the degree to which the educational system is part of the social system of the Indian community. It is exceedingly important to involve Indian parents in the training of teachers if a school system is to become a mechanism for self-determination.

Reservation Preschool Programs

Reservation preschool programs should not be designed for the acquisition of congnitive skills as much as for the acquisition of social competencies. Observations of Head Start programs indicate that English as a second language was implemented through a repetitious process which detracted from the social adjustment emphasis that should have been developed.

Early childhood development would be enhanced if efforts to devise a plan for delivering these programs were made in conjunction with colleges and universities or Indian organizations with proven competencies in this area. Planning relevant programs would include improving the competencies of classroom instructional staff. Equally important is the initiation of an improved health and dental program that Indian preschool aged children often do not receive at home.

Curricular areas should include the child's environment and language as the core of instruction and should be limited to the child's interest span. Free time activity should include quiet play as well as activities which would aid physical development.

The development of a young child's self-image is important for his future educational encounters and is the basis for reinforcing and praising his Indian heritage. If the child speaks a native tongue, instruction should be provided in that tongue.

Urban Indian Communities

The urban Indian community embraces every imaginable aspect of diversity. The presence of so many people of diverse tribal backgrounds in the cities is usually attributed to the desire of Indians to gain a stable economic footing. Many are dropouts from BIA relocation programs who are "trapped" with jobs providing unstable incomes which prevent their return to the reservation. They may or may not possess the job skills necessary to escape their predicament and only live on a day to day existence.

Other Indians who have a more secure economic situation quickly move out of the inner city to the suburbs where they have little contact with their less fortunate Indian brothers. Their children attend the neighborhood public schools which are better than the inner city public school systems that other Indian children attend. Indian parents do not often become involved in their child's education. Quite often the Indian child finds himself alienated in a White middle class world with little parental support. These Indian students represent a small minority of the children in the school system and many are easily not identified by the district as Indian. If a school system cannot identify an Indian population, there is no need to implement a tracking system to follow their progress.

The established migratory pattern of Indian people (from reservation to city and return as well as within the city) may cause a child to be enrolled in several schools during the school year without an opportunity to develop a sense of permanence within any school. Cognitive deficiencies can result from this pattern and no school district can recognize a problem until it is too late. The invisibility of Indian students in a permanent sense doesn't permit relevant planning to solve this unique problem.

Several alternatives do exist to meet these needs. One would be for Indian action organization and centers to work with existing school systems to increase the visibility of Indian students. The other option would be to establish alternative schools.

A. Establishment of Indian Oriented Programs in Public Schools.

The enactment of Title IV, P.L. 92-318 permits the establishment of remedial as well as accelerated programs for Indian youth. These programs can be planned in consultation with Indian parents and designed to meet the educational requirements of their youth. Because of the deverse tribal backgrounds, problems would certainly occur in attempts to set up bilingual programs. Consequently projects have to be restricted to diagnostic, tutorial and remedial.

Separate components can be set up to emphasize the favorable concepts of Indian life, including Native American History and culture classes. Participation by other Indian people in the community in the establishment of courses on Indian ethics and psychology can be programmed by a professional educator.

Home-school relationships can be established by hiring an Indian person to develop this relationship. Part of this role would also be

to create recreational and civic programs designed to allow parents and students to utilize more community educational resources such as libraries, parks, and public recreation facilities. This program would provide a valuable community service as well as remove much of the boredom suffered by Indians in the reservation-urban transition period.

Indian cultural clubs can be established as an extracurricular school function to generate pride in the students' Indian origins. This type of activity could serve to enlighten and educate non-Indian students better than library displays and history books can do. Outside speakers can be brought in to lecture on Indian history and Indian life. The possibilities are inexhaustible for an urban public school and depend on the initiative of the Indian community and the receptiveness of the public school, but can only be brought about by the school and parental commitment to educational improvement.

B. Indian Alternative Schools

Alternative schools are established when the existing school systems fail to meet the needs of Indian people or when they fail to recognize that cultural differences are causing student alienation. Many of the enrollees of alternative are dropouts or push outs from the public systems. While it is not yet possible to guage the success of alternative schools that fact has not prevented their establishment. One problem of alternative schools that persists is that compliance with state accreditation standards usually means that the type of instruction high school students receive is limited to a certain curriculum.

Alternative schools create a more conducive environment for Indian students and that certainly is their merit. Indian people also develop tremendous pride in having their own Indian school. Parents usually determine the operation of the school and its educational programs. In addition to the subjects normally taught in a public school, special programs can be introduced to emphasize Indian history and culture. Other projects, specially designed for a urban supplemental program, can also be incorporated into the overall program operation.

Alternative schools are in continual jeopardy in the matter of funding. The Bureau of Indian Affairs does not presently recognize a responsibility for urban communities and consequently the schools must rely on other funding sources.

C. The Adult Population

The adult Indian population certainly needs assistance in alleviating their economic situation. Using already established Indian centers, job development and placement programs to provide immediate relief should be established. Arrangements could be made with employers to permit release time for GED training or other skill building courses at the center. Indian Centers can draw upon the resources of local colleges for volunteer or part-time instructors in these areas.

Job retention skills can also be worked into a curriculum plan for adult education by including courses covering the skills of locating employment and employer's expectations from employees. Courses designed to promote pride in a positive self-image -- an item often overlooked in job development programs -- would also be

included in the curriculum. The idea of an adult program for an urban Indian community is to enable an individual to gain enough skills that will permit social and economic mobility.

The presence of an Indian in an urban community does not stop him from being an Indian nor does recognition of his needs constitute paternalism. Each one of these individuals still traces his origin to a reservation and does in fact maintain cultural and family ties with that reservation and Indian tribe. The U.S. Census Bureau has projected a population of 400,000 Indians in urban communities. This large population should receive our consideration. There should be a commitment to assit them in developing relevant educational programs plus financing for their educational programs.

Conclusion

Although this paper did not cover all Indian people, we can include them in this broad and general analysis. Educational improvement ultimately rests in the communities and their desire and ability to want to change their lives. The key to this choice is local control.

Acquiring local control is not easy and communities must demonstrate intestinal fortitude or "guts" in confronting the forces that stand in their way. Organizations such as the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards can only outline processes and provide backup technical and legal support for local communities when they begin to acquire and realize local Indian control. The rest is entirely up to a community. A local school board must be the pivotal agent to circumvent an irrelevant educational process.

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